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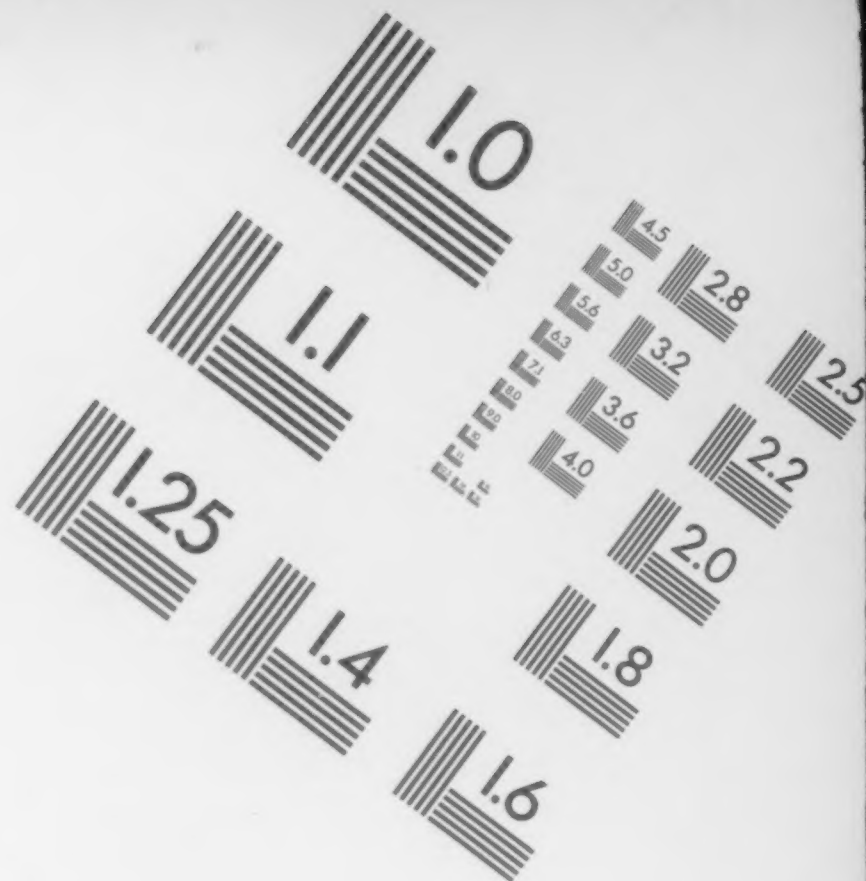
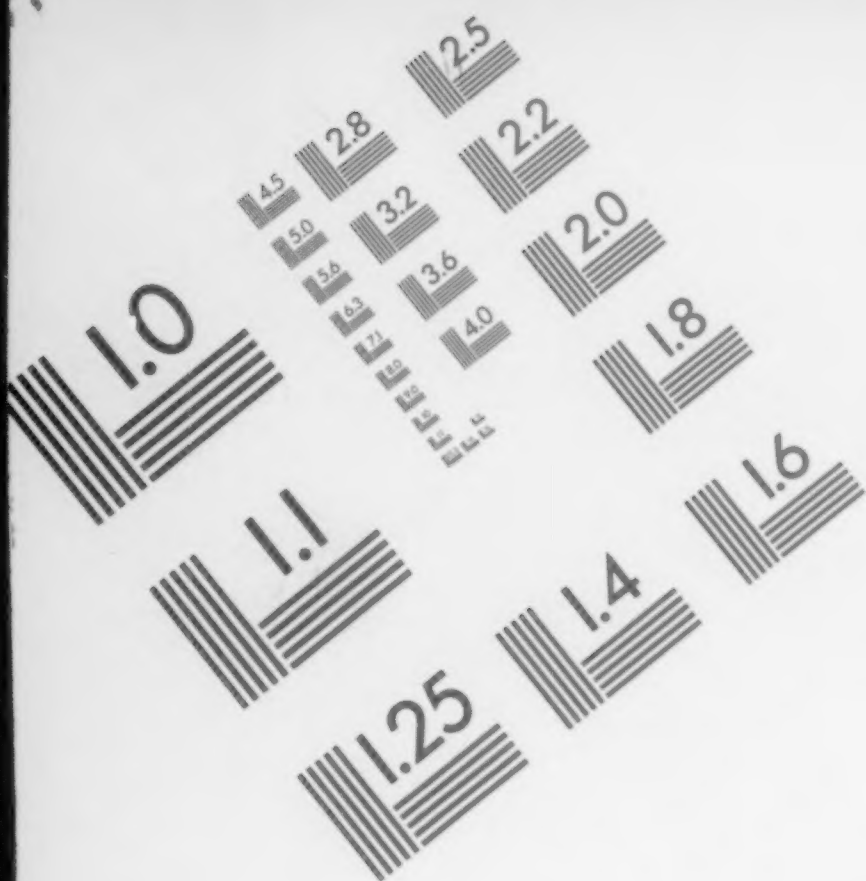


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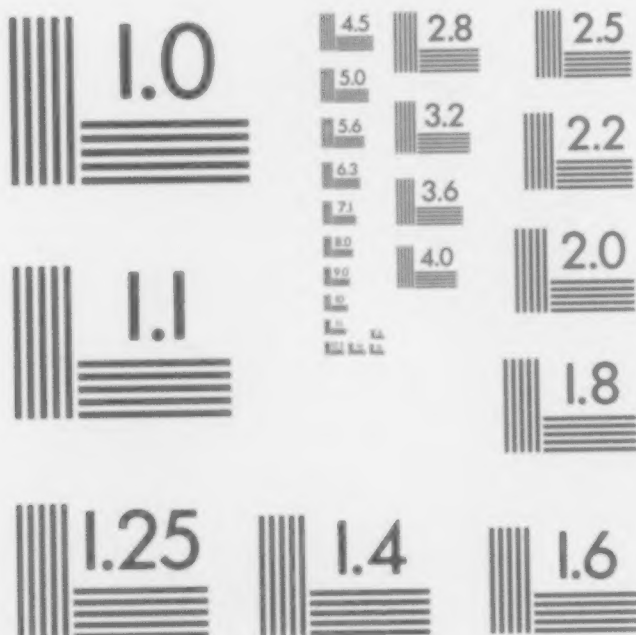
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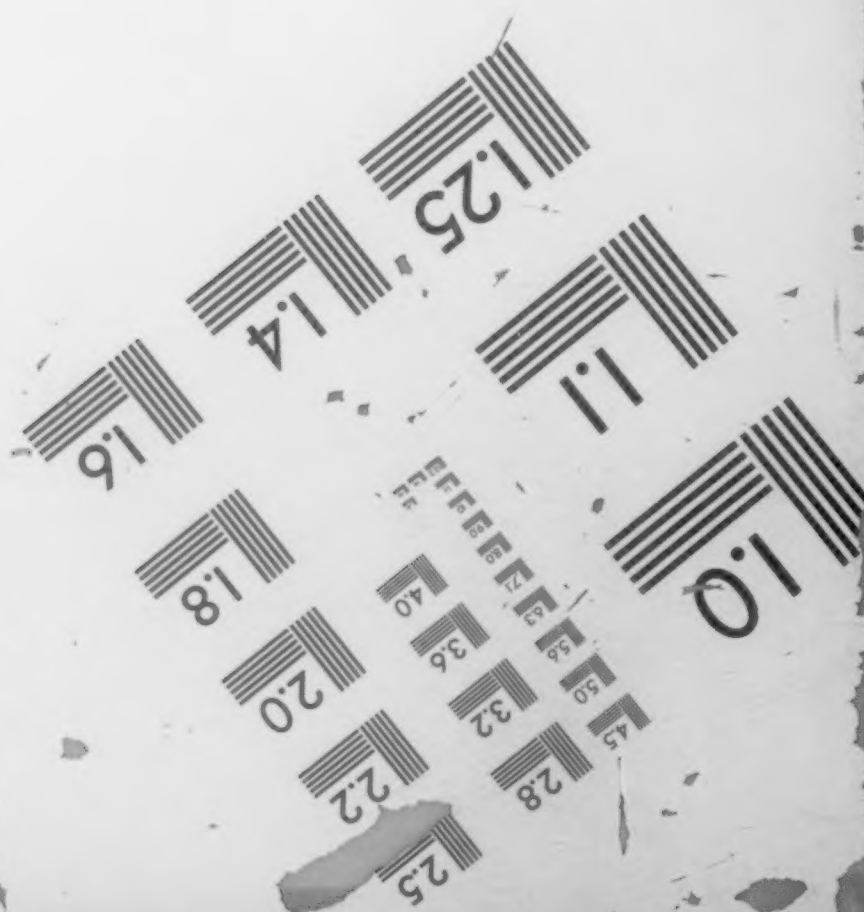
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# GREEK DIMINUTIVES IN *-ION*

A STUDY IN SEMANTICS

BY

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WEIMAR, GERMANY,  
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1910.



Ms. B. 1.8 Apr 12

## PREFACE

The first part of this dissertation is abbreviated from a thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in the year 1908.

On account of their extremely great number I have refrained from giving a list of abbreviations used. Most of them will be found self-explanatory, and for the rest, I have tried to follow standard works, being guided particularly by the following: Liddel and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, the Parisian Stephanus, Herwerden's Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum, and Brugmann's Grundriss.

The omission of a general bibliography is due to the fact that an enumeration of each and every work cited would increase too much the already great bulk of the dissertation, while mention of only those works which are written on diminutives particularly, would largely be a repetition of the list given in Brugmann's Grundriss 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 121 f. What has been written since then, has mostly appeared in the periodicals, and so can be found without difficulty. I will mention, however, Ribezzo, Die Deminutiva der altindischen Sprache, Naples 1907, and Wrede, Die Diminutiva im Deutschen, in Deutsche Dialektgeographie 1 p. 73 ff., Marburg 1908.

When not otherwise stated, the references below to modern works are to pages of the work cited. An exception is Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, which is cited by paragraphs.

Ancient authors are cited according to the numbers of the standard editions. In case of the Comic fragments, I refer to volumes and pages of Meineke. References to spurious works of Greek authors are not distinguished from the genuine ones; for it is the usage of the language, and not of the authors, that is of interest for my purposes, and for purposes of chronology not much can be made even of a difference of a century or so in the appearance of a word.

I desire to express my obligations for valuable counsel and suggestions to Professor Karl Brugmann, of Leipzig, who suggested the subject; to Professors E. W. Hopkins and E. P. Morris of Yale University, and particularly to Professor Hanns Oertel of Yale, whose searching criticisms and helpful guidance have been of inestimable value to me.

WALTER PETERSEN.

LINDSBORG, KANS.,  
July, 1910.



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## I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

1. The object of this monograph is to trace the development of diminutive and related meanings in case of a suffix which presents the most favorable conditions for such an investigation. For, since the fact that diminutive formatives are usually the same as those forming secondary adjectives<sup>1</sup> argues that the latter developed into the former, it is of advantage if, as Greek *-ω-*, the same suffix is at the same time both a diminutive and a secondary adjective suffix in the same language. No matter whether *-ω-* is held to have developed its diminutive meaning in Indo-European or in Greek times, we can be reasonably certain that the transition-types, which give an insight into the process, are extant.

2. In judging the relations of the different extant meanings we must be careful not to be influenced too much by the theories of both ancient and modern grammarians. Since the former knew nothing of the historical point of view, it is, for instance, of no importance to us that they continually treated the idea of small size as primary,<sup>2</sup> and considered other meanings as secondary or neglected them altogether. Natural as it is for one looking at the fully developed meanings to view the more tangible idea as most characteristic and therefore primary, this is no criterion for one looking for the origin of a phenomenon. The Greek grammarians, however, erred not only in their theories, but their facts are often quite untrustworthy, partly because they were often describing phenomena which antedated themselves by centuries, and of which they could have no more empirical knowledge than we have, partly because pre-conceived notions obscured their view. Thus they had inherited a certain number of traditional *εἰδη* or derivational classes from Dionysius Thrax, which, though not meant to be exhaustive, nevertheless presented themselves to certain later grammarians as a number of pigeon-holes into which every word must fit somehow or other. A glaring example of this is a scholiast to Dionysius, AB. p. 793 f., where, after asserting that *-ων* derivatives are diminutives, he does not hesitate to give as examples among real

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, K. Vgl. Gr. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Thus cf. Arist. Rhet. 3. 2. 1405 b 32; Dionysius Thrax, AB. 635; Scholion to Dionysius, AB. 855 f.; Priscian ap. Keil, Gram. Lat. 2. 101.



diminutives such words as ἐρκίον, ἀσπίον, βιβλίον, σταμνίον, πυξίον, θηρίον, χωρίον, ἡρίον, στίον, σχονίον, λόγιον, παραμύθιον, μαιράκιον, κεράμιον, ἀργύριον, ἄμφιον. Even though all grammarians are not as reckless as this one is (cf. e. g. the scholiast to Dionysius, AB. 856, who justly declares that τειχίον, ἐρκίον, θηρίον, μηρίον, ὄγκιον, and ἔχνιον are not diminutives, and remarks that the adjective μέγα with θηρίον and τειχίον in Homer disproves their diminutive meaning), no faith whatever can be placed in their statement that this or that word is a ὑποκοριστικόν. Finally, the confusion of two totally different classes of words, the real diminutives and short forms of proper names, as is shown by Fick-Bechtel, Griech. Personennamen 36, referring to the scholion to Dionysius, AB. 856 f., shows that the term ὑποκοριστικόν did not always convey to them a distinct meaning.<sup>1</sup>

3. Modern authorities have, in the first place, until recently usually accepted without reserve the opinion transmitted to them from the Greek grammarians through the Romans, that small size is the original of the so-called diminutive meanings. Cf. Schwabe, De Dim. Gr. et Lat. 1 ff.; Kessler, Die Lat. Dim. 2 ff.; Stolz, Hist. Gram. 575; Polzin, Stud. zur Gesch. des Dim. im Deutsch. 52; Brugmann, K. Vgl. Gr. 338 f. Of these Stolz actually mentions Priscian as having already judged correctly the relation of meanings as a whole. While this view may be right for some diminutives, it does not necessarily follow that it is so for all others. On the contrary, the case may be different for each suffix, as becomes particularly evident when we examine the complex mosaic of meanings in case of suffixes like -ιον, where we have such a wealth of material before our eyes. The development does not take place in a straight line, but is continually checked or reinforced by other meanings which also branched out from the vague original meaning. Widely different starting-points come to the same end, and meanings which are alike to begin with branch out widely because of the mere accident of different environment of the words. It is, moreover, not true that the usual view of the relation of meanings of diminutive suffixes is *a priori* the only plausible one; G. Müller, De Ling. Lat. Dim. 13 ff., finds it possible to start from the hypo-

<sup>1</sup> The mistake of the Greek grammarians as well as of some moderns lay in considering the two as really and necessarily identical. This does not hinder us from admitting that the same suffix could have sometimes served both purposes or that diminutives could develop from 'Koseformen' and *vice versa*. Cf. Brugmann, K. Vgl. Gr. 339; Wrede, Die Dim. im Deutschen § 87 ff. (= Dialektgeographie p. 132 ff.).

coristic use; Wrede (see foot-note p. 2) insists that Germanic diminutives developed from 'Koseformen'; Belič, Arch. f. Slav. Phil. 23. 145 f., shows how certain Slavic suffixes which have both diminutive-deteriorative and amplificative-deteriorative meaning may start from the deteriorative; and finally, deteriorative expressions can become hypocoristic and *vice versa* without intermediate diminutive meaning. Cf. Wundt, Sprachpsych. 2<sup>2</sup>. 562 f. As to various possibilities of the origin of the diminutive meaning cf. § 178 f.; for the deteriorative, § 151 ff.; the hypocoristic, § 227. Particularly important is the question as to the extent to which faded diminutives should be assumed in order to explain words of non-diminutives meaning but diminutive form, for which cf. § 135, 219, 248. It has been my purpose to interpret every example on its own merits, and I have not deemed it my duty to do my best to get a word into the diminutive category before allowing a different origin.

4. In the second place, modern grammarians and lexicographers have often confused the formal and the semantic point of view. It is one result of this confusion that nearly every diminutive suffix occurring in any Indo-European language is pushed back to the mother-tongue, as if the faculty of developing diminutives belonged only to that remote antiquity. From the fact that most of the suffixes go back to Indo-European times in some form or other the conclusion can not be drawn that all of their meanings are equally old. Yet this is exactly what Solmsen<sup>1</sup> is doing when he argues that Greek proper names in -τος, -της etc. are a counterpart to Slavic diminutives in -ѣт-, even though no diminutive force has ever been discovered in Greek words of these endings. Similar is the identification of the suffixes of Lesb. φῶρυγξ and Lith. dėvūzis,<sup>2</sup> or of Gr. -ιον with the suffix of O. Icel. kǫð, 'kid,' fyl, 'foal,'<sup>3</sup> and of the x of ἀλώπηξ with the common I. E. -ko- suffix.<sup>4</sup> While words like O. Icel. fyl might be remnants of I. E. diminutive meaning, if that were otherwise established, they never can be brought forth as proof of such meaning; for I. E. semantics must depend upon comparison of the extant meanings in the different languages, and we can not jump at I. E. conclusions from one language and then re-apply these to other languages as though certain. It is another case of confusion of form

<sup>1</sup> Deutsche Littzt., 1906 col. 1692.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 676.

<sup>3</sup> Kluge, Nom. Stammbild<sup>2</sup>. 33 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Schwabe, op. cit. 51.



and meaning when dictionaries give words as diminutives of other words simply because they end in suffixes which are found with diminutive force, but not in the word in question. When Liddell and Scott give *χρυσίον* as a diminutive of *χρυσός*, we have no information whatever of the real meaning of the word, it means no more than that it ends in a suffix which may have diminutive force. To avoid confusion here I always use the term semantically: it is to designate a word which either originally or in the consciousness of the person using it, designated a small object or a closely associated or related idea like youth, elegance, nicety, and the like.

5. My material has largely been gathered from Classic Greek Literature, and of this I have perused nearly every available example. I have also made excursions into the post-Classical literature, following up particularly such words as are mentioned by modern authorities. As to the inscriptions, I have not neglected them entirely, particularly the Attic inscriptions, but have not made such extensive collections because their value is chiefly confined to matters of spelling, form, or chronology. Their contents is so formal that a word occurring in them is usually divested of everything except its bare literal meaning. Their value is therefore comparatively small for semantic conclusions when, as in case of diminutives, so much depends upon the emotional tone of the passage or the particular flavor of a word.

6. Geographical names I have used only incidentally, as a particular one seemed well established, or where it is a question of generally accepted principles. Usually their semantics are completely beyond our ken even if their etymology is clear formally. Thus *Θρόνιον* is evidently derived from *θρόνος*, but what connection there was between the name and its object can only be a matter of conjecture, and often enough one place name is copied from an other, so that, if the prototype is unknown, there is no prospect of getting at the reasons for the name. On the whole, however, it is perfectly clear that they can not have originated from the diminutive use of *-ιον*; for a geographical name necessarily designates something that is high up in the scale of size, and it is very rarely that e. g. a small hill or river or similar feature in the neighborhood was prominent enough to cause the naming of a place near by, or that the diminutive of an appellative should be applied to one particular individual when there were hosts of others like it. Personal names on the other hand present a very simple problem; for the neuter gender of *-ιον* points strongly to a diminutive-hypocoristic origin of all of them. Cf. § 237 b.

7. A valuable source for throwing light on semantic development is, of course, in general, the parallel development of like ideas in different languages. The study of Sanskrit, Latin, Germanic, and Slavic diminutives ought to contribute something to the Greek. There is, however, the difficulty that we know next to nothing of the semantics of Sanskrit diminutives,<sup>1</sup> while for the other languages it is a question how far they were influenced by translation. Polzin, in his *Studien zur Geschichte des Diminutivums im Deutschen*, while no doubt exaggerating the influence of the Latin on the Germanic, has nevertheless shown that in many cases Latin 'pseudo-diminutives' have been translated by Germanic diminutives. The question arises whether Latin did not in the same way borrow from the Greek. Very probably *ranunculus*, 'frogwort,' was a mistaken translation of Gr. *βατράχιον*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the Slavic in turn may have borrowed from the Greek, Latin, and Germanic. It is by no means more strange than the false translation of Greek grammatical termini into Latin, or the translation of compounds from Greek to Latin to Germanic.<sup>3</sup> Until this aspect of the diminutives in these three language-groups has been thoroughly investigated, comparison will often be unsafe, and must be used with care.

8. Although the 'diminutive' uses are the center of my discussion, it is necessary also to consider all other suffixal meanings of substantives in *-ιον*, not only because a large number of words of the most varied classes have at one time or other been called diminutives, but also because the latter will not appear in proper perspective unless compared with all other meanings of the suffix, and there is a continual interchange of influence between them and attractions of words from one class to the other. The diminutive class, however, and those more closely related to it, i. e. all classes derived from substantives, are treated with more completeness than those derived from adjectives or the verbal abstracts.

9. On the other hand, it would be superfluous continually to bring in such substantivized adjectives as are still in touch with the adjectives themselves, or to quote words of unknown or uncertain etymology, unless they are valuable for showing congeneric attraction. Such words e. g. are *βαλλάντιον* 'purse,' *ἱπρία* 'cakes,' *ῥνία* 'reins,' and *ἰσχίον* 'hip-joint.' Moreover, since the diminutive meaning has

<sup>1</sup> Ribezzo, *Die Dim. der Altind. Sprach.*, is based purely on dictionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Weise, *Charakteristik der Lateinischen Sprache*<sup>3</sup> p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Gr.* 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 77.



attached itself exclusively to historic Greek *-ιον*, and not to pre-historic *-(i)om*, it would be futile continually to bring in words like *φύλλον* < \**φύλιον*, *πεζόν* < \**πεζιόν*, or *σκαφεῖον* < \**σκαφέριον* or \**σκαφέσιον*. Only when such words are chronologically important, or when they otherwise help to illustrate the development of historic *-ιον*, will they be mentioned. Similarly words like those in *-τηριον*, e. g. *δειπνητήριον*, in which the conglutinate has taken upon itself a peculiar meaning quite distinct from that of simple *-ιον*, for the greater part come outside of the scope of our discussion.

10. Since diminutives as well as all other substantives in *-ιον* are formed with the same *-ιο-* that is so common in secondary adjectives, it is an important question when and how the different substantive categories cut loose from the adjectives. An examination of the various I. E. languages reveals the fact that *-(i)om* is used freely in substantives of a large number of dialects, e. g. Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Lithuanian, and it is therefore necessary to assume that such substantives occurred already in I. E., even were it not *a priori* to be expected that every adjective category produces substantivized neuters. On the other hand *-ιο-* was a living adjective suffix all through the history of the Greek language, and continually gave rise to new substantives in *-ιον*. These consequently belong to most widely distant periods, and each semantic group, each meaning the *-ιον* has added to the primitive, must be examined separately, as well as the independence of substantive from adjective formation, and the result compared with other languages, in order to determine its chronology. The question of the time of the origin of the diminutive use is best left until all the different substantive categories have been brought to view. Cf. § 261 ff.

11. As to the manner of substantivation,<sup>1</sup> words in *-ιον* present nothing peculiar from any other substantivized neuter adjectives. It may take place by ellipsis of a substantive,<sup>2</sup> by the use of the neuter singular

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delbrück, Gr. 5. 130 ff., Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>. 414, K. Vgl. Gr. 691 f.

<sup>2</sup> Delbrück objects to the term substantivation in this case because the substantive remains in the subconsciousness of the speaker and the adjective remains an adjective as before. Thus when the Greek said *ἡ δεξιὰ*, 'the right (hand),' he always understood *χείρ* with it. I have nevertheless sometimes used the objectionable term, and not merely on account of its convenience, but because for certain classes of frequently used words it can be maintained that the consciousness of the word understood is entirely lost, even though the very same idea may have been now incorporated in the original adjective. This is particularly easy when ellipsis has affected a

as an abstract or collective, or by taking up with the neuter adjective the general idea of a thing. With the exception of the category of abstract nouns, which form a distinct semantic group and have been separated from other words, manner of substantivation can not be my main principle of division, partly because this would do violence to the more important principle of division according to the meaning of the suffix, partly because the different ways of substantivation shade into each other imperceptibly, and when there is no combination of adjective and substantive extant we can not tell whether there originally was ellipsis or not. Moreover, words which are due to ellipsis give rise to other substantives without the intermediate existence of an adjective, and so the distinction breaks down entirely: *σχύριον* *δέπας* gave rise to *σχύριον*, and this in turn gave rise to words like *κυρβίον*, which can not be classified as substantivized adjectives at all, but simply show that *-ιον* has taken upon itself the new function of forming nouns designating vessels.

12. In arranging and grouping the different shades of meaning I shall have to be largely guided by convenience. The signification of a word-forming element is, of course, not only a product of the inherited meaning of the suffix itself, but is also influenced by the primitive from which it is a derivative, and by the environment of the word, by the whole situation in which it is placed. Consequently nearly every occurrence of a suffix is different from every other in some respect, and it is necessary to select, arbitrarily sometimes perhaps, a few more important points of view for the arrangement. Moreover, the conflicting and overlapping influences which are at work are of varying relative importance, so that it is impossible systematically to adhere to a single point of view as the main principle of grouping. In general, however, I have made the meaning brought in by the suffix itself the main principle of division (cf. however, § 11). In

group in which an adjective with a generic substantive formed a mere circumlocution for the primitive of the adjective. Thus there is no great probability that the Greeks thought of *δέπας* everytime they heard *σχύριον* (§ 120), nor, with a different relation of primitive and derivative, that they thought of *ιερὸν* when they heard *τὸ Ἀρτεμῖδιον* (§ 67). Moreover, the fact that such words give rise to analogical formations which never had a corresponding adjective existing, is complete evidence for their substantivation. Even if then, as Delbrück remarks, the finer psychological analysis of such relations is impossible in dead languages, I see no reason for dropping the term substantivation altogether for these cases, and would be equally well justified in using it where it does not strictly apply as in refusing it where it belongs.



my subdivisions, on the other hand, I have usually followed the principle of grouping con-generic words together; for the linguistic material lies in the mind in such groups of closely related words, while a more minute analysis of the apparent effect of the suffix upon the words is of no psychological interest, because that is due entirely to accidental circumstances which never had any place in the psychic attitude of the speaker.

## II. TREATMENT OF FINAL SUFFIXES OF THE PRIMITIVES TO WHICH -*io*- IS ADDED.

13. An attempt to present a complete treatment of the formal history of the -*io*- suffix would clearly be superfluous for the reason that this has been often enough done before, and the facts are in general quite clear. I may refer to Leo Meyer, Vgl. Gramm. 2. 399 ff., 440 ff.; Aly, De Nom. -*io*- Suffix. op. Form.; Brugmann, Gr. 2. 12. 182 ff.; for the diminutives particularly to Janson, De Graec. Serm. Nom. Dim. et Ampl. Flex. Forma atque Usu. All I shall attempt is to give a summary and to explain my treatment of a few irregularities.

14. According to Brugmann, op. cit. 187, the suffix -(i)io- is a conglutination of the *i* of *i* stems or of locatives with the thematic *o*. It is, then, historically unjustifiable to divide words like *παρδαλίον* (: *πάρδαλις*) as *παρδαλ-ιον* or *παρδαλι-ον*, but one should divide *παρδαλι-ον*. But if such forms caused the transfer of -*io*- to other than *i* stems it was interpreted as a single suffix, and was placed on the same footing by the speaker as in consonant stems + -*io*-. The two groups therefore belong together semantically, and I have admitted such forms from *i* stems without comment, so e. g. *άλύσιον* : *ἄλυσις*, *βουβάλιον* : *βούβαλις*, *εἰσηλύσιον* : *εἰσήλυσις*, *καννάβια* : *κάνναβις*, *σάρδιον* : *Σάρδεις*.

15. The regular phonetic treatment<sup>1</sup> of the other stem-finals would be as follows: (1) -*o*-, -*ā*-(-*η*-) + -*io*- = -*io*-; *σχοινίον* : *σχοῖνος*, *ἀνθρώπιον* : *ἀνθρωπος*, *ἀράχνιον* : *ἀράχνη(ς)*, *φωνίον* : *φωνή*. (2) -*u*- + -*io*- either = -*io*- < -*Fio* (Cretan *ἄστις* : *ἄστυ*), or, as usually, the strong form in -*eu*- is used, which gives -*euo*- < -*Fio*- : *γένειον* : *γένυς*, *χέλειον* : *χέλυσ*. (3) -*eu*- + -*io*- = -*euo*-, Ionic -*η[F]ῖο*-, though the exact phonetic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, l. c.

process is not clear<sup>1</sup>: *κουρεῖον* : *κουρεύς*, *κναφεῖον* : *κναφεύς*. (4) Locatives in -*ei*-, -*oi*-, -*ai* + -*io*- = -*euo*-, -*euo*-, -*euo*-. Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 181. (5) -*es*-, -*os*-, -*as*-, + -*io*- = -*euo*-, -*euo*-, -*euo*-; *ἀγγεῖον* : *ἄγγος*, *γελῶς* : *γέλως*, *κνεφαῖος* : *κνέφας*. (6) -*τ(ο/ᾱ)*- + -*io*- sometimes = -*euo*-, as in *συβόσιον* : *συβότης*, but oftener, particularly in later words, = -*euo*-. Cf. *ῥημάτιον* : *ῥῆμα*, *νοσημάτιον* : *νόσημα*. (7) Combinations with all other consonants suffered no change. Cf. *πετρύγιον* : *πτέρυξ*, *ὀνύχιον* : *ὄνυξ*, *ὀρνίθιον* : *ὄρνις*, *θηρίον* : *θήρ*, *ποιμνιον* : *ποίμνη*.

16. This distribution of the result of combination of -*io*- with the different stem-finals naturally did not remain intact. In the first place, -*euo*- encroached on -*io*- in certain adjectives derived from names of living beings, e. g. *ἀνθρώπειος* : *ἀνθρωπος*, *γυναικεῖος* : *γυναῖκ-*, *αἰγείος* : *αἴξ*, *ἵππειος* : *ἵππος*, or in neuter substantives denoting a locality or instrument and the like,<sup>2</sup> e. g. *λογεῖον* : *λόγος*, *διδασκαλεῖον* : *διδάσκαλος*, *κηρύκειον* : *κήρυξ*. There were so many agent nouns in -*euos* from which words in -*euon* with these meanings could be formed, that -*euon* rather than -*ion*, which could no longer be recognized in such conglutinates, became their exponent. Conversely, -*ion* encroached upon -*euon* in -*es*- stems. The fact that the realms in which -*euon* had become productive were such that only very few -*es*- stems were affected, led to the converse result that the latter changed -*euon* to -*ion*, which was the easier because they had the same form as the -*o*- stems in the Nominative Singular. Thus we find already in Homer *ἔχνιον* : *τὸ ἔχνος*, *εἶριον* : *τὸ εἶρος*, *τειρίον* : *τὸ τεῖρος*, *ἐρκίον* : *τὸ ἐρκος*, and later, *λήδιον* : *τὸ λῆδος*, *ῥάκιον* : *τὸ ῥάκος*, *ῥύγγιον* : *τὸ ῥύγγος*, *στήθιον* : *τὸ στήθος*, *τεμάχιον* : *τὸ τέμαχος*. In the diminutive, moreover, as well as the deteriorative category -*ion* was supreme, there being no example either of -*euon* or any other conglutinate not ending in -*ion* of two full syllables which had these meanings. This is no doubt due to the fact that the pattern types, e. g. *παιδίον* and *ἀνδρίον*, ended thus.

17. Occasionally -*ion* appears substituted for another suffix rather than added to it. Leaving out of account the inherited elision of *οἶα*, this occurs principally in case of -*id*- stems, e. g. *κάλπιον* : *κάλπις*, *ἡδυπότιον* : *ἡδυπότις*, *κήθιον* : *κηθίς*, *ῥαφάνιον* : *ῥαφανίς*, *τροφάλιον* : *τροφάλις*. That these should have been syncopated from forms in -*idion*, as Janson (p. 23, 32) assumes for the last two, would be totally contrary to Greek phonetic laws. The substitution rather arose because -*is* and -*ion* were equivalent in many uses: as diminutive

<sup>1</sup> id. Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 181.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pape, Etym. Wörterb. 97, 69.



suffixes, as suffixes forming names of plants, vessels, boxes, and the like. The resulting feeling of equivalence caused the transfer of words from one class to the other, particularly from the less numerous to the more numerous class. Strictly speaking *ῥαφάνιον* is not a derivative of *ῥαφάνις*, but the two are collateral forms.

18. The substitution of *-ιον* for a stem-suffix in a few cases is hard to explain: *σκύλιον* 'dog-fish' (: *σκύλαξ*, 'puppy') can not be explained in this way because the two words are not equivalent in meaning, unless we assume that *σκύλαξ* itself was at one time applied to the dog-fish, and then the substitution took place. *στόμιον* (: *στόμα*, 'mouth'), instead of *στομάτιον*, may have been caused by the resemblance of the Nominative to First Declension nominatives like *γέφυρα*. For *κυρσίον* (: *κυρσάνιος*) 'youth,' cf. § 148. *θεράπιον* (: *θεράπων*), 'wretched servant,' in *Lys. ap. Poll. 3. 74*, is probably a scribe's error; for *θεραπόντιον*, which would be regular, has manuscript authority also. It is a question, however, whether some of these irregular forms are not due to collateral *o/ā* stems which have been lost. Cf. *λάγιον* : *λαγός*, not : *λαγώς*; and with *στόμιον* particularly, *σταλάγιον*, apparently from *στάλαγμα*, but really from *σταλαγμός*.

19. Of the numerous conglutinates in *-ιον* I have separated from simple *-ιον* all except *-σιον* < *-t(i)om*, making the latter exception because the *t* has from I. E. times had no appreciable influence on the meaning. I have therefore made no comment on words like *Αρτεμίσιον*, *συμπόσιον*, *προμνήσιον*, etc. Words, however, in which *α* appears before *-σιον* are reserved for a future section (§ 369 ff.) on the suffix *-ασιον*, which seems to have attained a certain local productivity.

### III. ACCENT OF GREEK NOUNS IN *-ιον*.

20. Before taking up the different *-ιον* nouns in detail it will be necessary to inquire whether the variation of accentuation of stem and suffix has any relation to the meaning of the words. If not, the question of accent can be neglected after this.

21. The generally accepted rule, both by ancient grammarians and modern authorities, is that polysyllabic diminutives follow the analogy of other polysyllables and retract their accent: cf. *βάλσαμον*, *δικαστήριον*, *ὀρνίθιον*, *σπαθάλιον*, etc. But dactylic trisyllabic diminutives, whether the first syllable is long by nature or position, accent the

of the suffix, as *παιδίον*, *τυμβίον*, or *ψωμίον*, while tribrach diminutives accent the first syllable, as *θρόνιον*, *λίθιον*, or *πτύχιον*. So for instance it is stated in the Scholia to Dionysius Thrax, AB. 856: τὰ γὰρ εἰς ἰὸν ὑποκοριστικά, τρισύλλαβα, ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ βραχείας [προπαρ]οξύνεται, στόλιον, πόδιον, χέριον, σάκιον, ὅτε δι' ἑνὸς κάππα· ὅτε δὲ διὰ δύο, παροξύτονον, σακκίον. κορρίον διὰ δύο ῥρ παρὰ Ἀττικῶς, κόριον δὲ δι' ἑνὸς ῥ παρὰ τῷ Θεοκρίτῳ. Cf. also Chandler, Gr. Acc<sup>2</sup>. p. 101; Janson, op. cit. 4. This canon for the accentuation of diminutives is in contrast with that of adjectives in *-ιος*, which, with very few exceptions, retract their accent as far as possible: *ἀγώνιος*, *ἄλιος*, *ἴδιος*. Cf. Chandler, op. cit. p. 115 f. Nouns which but recently were substantivized from adjectives of course retain their recessive accent: *ἰσθμιον*, *δέσμιον*, etc. Other exceptions are explained on the ground of contraction, dactylic words having arisen out of original tetrasyllables, e. g. *βοῖδιον* < *βοῦδιον*, *γῆδιον* < *γῆιδιον*, *νοῖδιον* < *νοῦδιον*.

22. If we state the rule as above, as applying to diminutives, it is too narrow; for there are a large number of words which never had any diminutive meaning, old and common words too, which follow the rule. I may mention *ἀρνίον*, *βιβλίον*, *ἰσχίον*, *ἡνία*, *ἡρίον*, *εἰρίον* (later for *εἴριον*), *ἰστίον*, *κηρίον*, *μηρίον*, *θηρίον*, *ἰνίον*, *οἰκίον*, *ὀλκίον*, *πηνίον*, *σχονίον*, *τειχίον*, *φορτίον*, *φυκίον*, *χωρίον*. For other examples cf. Chandler, op. cit. p. 105 f. All of these here mentioned except *βιβλίον*, *ὀλκίον*, *εἰρίον*, *σχονίον*, *χωρίον*, possibly *ἀρνίον*, occur as here accented in Homer, Hesiod, or Archilochus, before the diminutive meaning of *-ιον* had ever been developed. We can not, therefore, satisfy ourselves with Janson (l. c.) that these have followed the analogy of the diminutives. Still less can we join with Chandler and Allinson in trying to modify the meaning of the term 'diminutive' in order to make the rule fit. The latter himself (A. J. of Ph. 12. 55) admits that "the term 'diminutive' is unsatisfactory. In addition to the three meanings of 'something small,' 'pretty,' or 'contemptible,' the term is here used as including the idea of 'pertaining to,' 'made of,' or 'connected with.'" Similarly Chandler speaks of the difficulty of applying the rule, "because it is hard to say what constitutes a diminutive of the class in question. It is not the mere external form of the word, for *ἄλιον*, *δέσμιον*, *ἔρκιον* stand to *ἀλή*, *δεσμός*, *ἔρκος* in the same apparent relation that *βιβλίον*, *τειχίον*, *χρυσίον* do to *βύβλος*, *τεῖχος*, and *χρυσός*, and yet they are not diminutives, nor is it signification alone; *ἔρκιον* is a 'little bear,' but is not paroxytone. In short there are words diminutive in form and signification which are



not paroxytone, while there are others diminutive in form and accent though not in meaning." The above is practically another way of stating that a diminutive is a word which conforms to the above rule for accentuation. Moreover, if we include under the term 'diminutive' the ideas 'pertaining to,' 'made of,' 'connected with,' we have an idea that is practically synonymous with a substantivized secondary adjective, and the word 'diminutive' means nothing. It would even include such words as still have their adjectival origin in the consciousness of the speaker, which, as we have seen § 21, naturally follow the accentuation of the adjective. We must therefore state our rule in a different way: "Trisyllabic substantives in *-ιον*, if all connection with the adjectival types from which they are derived has faded from the mind, have a tendency to accent the penult if they are dactylic, but the antepenult if they are tribrachs."

23. I have said "have a tendency," for if it is stated as a rule, there are numerous exceptions even as it is here formulated. Chandler, p. 106 f., gives a long list of "Diminutives in Form and Signification,"<sup>1</sup> but not in Accent." i. e., dactylic words accenting the first syllable, so e. g. ἄσκιον, γάνδιον, δένδριον, ζώνιον, λήδιον, λύχνιον, νήπιον, ὄσπριον, τρύβλιον, ὦμιον. Altogether there are fifty-seven mentioned exclusive of compounds, some of which are found with both accentuations, but most are always accented on the antepenult. We even find κάρδιον contrasted to κάρδιον. Cf. also Janson, op. cit. 20 f. On the other hand, there is a number of tribrach 'diminutives' which accent the penult. Cf. Janson, 21 f.; Chandler, 104 f.; Allinson, A. J. of Ph. 12. 55. Chandler quotes some thirty different tribrach words which accent the penult according to some authorities. Most of these are also found with the accent on the antepenult, and so may be false forms, though it is at least equally probable that the accent varied in actual speech. Such words are θυρίον, κτενίον, πτυχίον, ῥακίον, σφυρίον. Others may be due to an interchange of *-ιον* with *-ειον*, as πυρίον for πυρεῖον. But two, namely σκαφίον and πεδίον, are attested by a large number of passages. The former, however, may have gotten its accent by analogy to κυμβίον or by influence of σκαφεῖον, but the one word πεδίον, which is as old as Homer, and practically free from analogical influences, is enough to show that the accent on the penult was not in every case due to the dactylic form of a word. For that πεδίον should have been accented in this manner simply to

<sup>1</sup> It really should be observed, however, that not all of the words quoted are diminutives in meaning, so e. g. λήδιον.

distinguish it from πεδίον, diminutive of πεδίη (Janson, op. cit. 10), is utterly incredible, and not warranted by the passage cited (Etym. Mag. 658. 24 ff.).

24. As to the cause of the prevailing accentuation of the *-ιον* nouns, it can not be "that the language strove to accent the first syllable of the diminutive suffix,"<sup>1</sup> both because of the many non-diminutives that follow the rule and the many diminutives, both polysyllabic and trisyllabic, which do not accent the penult (see § 22 f.). Nor do the words in *-ισκο-*<sup>2</sup> add great probability to the theory; for the invariability with which these are accented on the penult regardless of meaning marks their accent as old and inherited, quite distinct from the wavering of the *-ιον* forms.

25. The latter has often been attributed to the working of Wheeler's "dactylic law," the law that dactylic endings with the accent on the ultima become paroxytone, which in spite of the uncertainty of the precise conditions under which the change occurred, we may accept as a fact. Cf. Wheeler, Der Griechische Nominalaccent 60 ff.; Brugmann, Gr. 1<sup>2</sup>. 963, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>. 153; for words in *-ιον* Wheeler, op. cit. 95; Hirt, Idg. Acc. 27. Just as \*παχυλός (παχυλῶς) is contrasted with δριμύλος < \*δριμυλός, so we get σφηκίον from \*σφηκιόν. Although there is no example of a neuter in *-ίον*, we do find traces of the law in masculines in *-ιος*, and in adjectives in *-ιος*, *-ια*, *-ιον*. Thus γομφίος, κωβίος, νομφίος, and σκορπίος are opposed to βομβυλιός, μητρυός, πατρυός,<sup>3</sup> or, among adjectives, βαλός, λαλός, μονός, πελός, σκολός are opposed to άντός, μύριος, πλησίος.<sup>4</sup> It is, then, beyond doubt that the law must have had its influence on the neuter substantives also, so as to diminish the number of oxytones and increase the number of paroxytones, and thus pave the way for the complete disappearance of the former.

26. It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that the original form was in every case an oxytone or a paroxytone. The three differ-

<sup>1</sup> Allinson, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Allinson, ib. p. 56. How the accent of words in *-ισκο-* is to be explained is a question by itself. This much, however, may be said here, that to refer their accentuation to the tendency of diminutives to accent the penult, as is done now again by Hatzidakis, Glotta 1. 124, is trying to explain a regular phenomenon by an irregular one, a frequent by a rare phenomenon, one that is nearly pan-Hellenic by one that is local and dialectic (Hatzidakis lets *-ισκο-* be patterned after *-υλο-* and *-ιχο-* rather than after the obviously intractable *-ιον*).

<sup>3</sup> Chandler, p. 67 f.

<sup>4</sup> id. p. 115 f.



ent types represented by ζώνιον, πεδίον, and σφηρίον < \*σφηρίον, or the adjectives ἄλιος, ἀντίος, σκολιός, are all inherited from the Indo-European mother-tongue, as is shown by the corresponding variety of accent of the Sanskrit words in -(i)ya-: cf. ácva- from ácva-, pítṛya- from pítṛ-, hr̥dyā- (= hr̥dīya-) from hṛd-, hotríya- from hótṛā-, somyá- from sóma-, ksetriyá- from ksétra-. Cf. Hirt, Idg. Acc. 277; Whitney, Skr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>. 1212, 1214.

27. It would appear then, that the distinction of accent between adjectives, which usually have recessive accent, masculine substantives, which mostly accent the ultima (Chandler 67 f.), and neuter substantives or 'diminutives,' which have a tendency to accent the penult when dactylic, otherwise to have recessive accent, is altogether secondary; for a few adjectives have kept the old accent (see § 25), while on the other hand a number of substantives with no adjective connections retract their accent although dactyls. And to the rule that non-dactylic substantives have recessive accent we have the one certain exception πεδίον, which can only be explained by assuming that it inherited the old accent, which was kept because the word was used frequently and had few congeneric words, so as not to be easily subject to analogical influences.

28. It follows from this that the accent will be of no help whatever in discerning the different strata of -ιον substantives in their gradual separation from the adjectives. There were the most conflicting analogical influences at work even in later times, as can be seen from the varying accentuation of so many words. How much more then would this be the case at an earlier period when the new tendencies were yet forming? Adding to this the fact that all our knowledge of accent comes from the Alexandrian grammarians and their successors, and that we never can be quite sure how old their accentuation is, I may well be justified in omitting all reference to accent in my treatment of the semantic development of the -ιον diminutives.

#### IV. -ιον FROM ADVERBS AND CASE-FORMS IN -i.

29. The first category of I. E. -(i)io- adjectives mentioned by Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 183, is that in which -(i)io- arose from case-forms and adverbs in -i, which were extended by -o- for the purpose of adjective formation; cf. Gr. ἰφιος 'mighty': ἴφι, ἀντίος Lat. antiae

O. H. G. andi endi: Skr. ánti Gr. ἀντί 'in front of.' Cf. Brugmann, op. cit. 164, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>. 180. In -αιος we find παλαιός: πάλαι 'old,' cf. Prellwitz, Burs. JB. 106. 72.

To adjectives of this kind a few Greek neuter substantives probably owe their origin. Perhaps ἀντίον<sup>1</sup> 'liciatorium,' occurring Ar. Thes. 822 and Poll. 7. 36—καπνὸν ἱστοῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἀντίον—belongs to the adjective ἀντίος, though the connection of meaning is difficult. More certain is ἀμφίον<sup>1</sup>; ἀμφί, 'that which is around' the body, i. e. a garment. So Soph. frg. 387, AB. 389. 10, ἀμφίον· ἔνδυμα. ἰμάτιον. Like ἴφιος is the compound ἐπιπατρόφιον 'father's name,' in the Boeotian inscription of REG. 12. 53 ff. (A 28), which originated from the phrase \*ἐπὶ πατρίφι. Cf. Solmsen, Rh. Mus. 56. 475.

#### V. -ιον IN ABSTRACTS WITH VERBAL FORCE.

30. Already in Indo-European times there were in existence a number of adjectives in -(i)io- with verbal force,<sup>2</sup> and a number of action nouns derived from these by substantivation of the neuter.<sup>2</sup> Such adjectives with passive meaning are not uncommon in various languages,<sup>3</sup> cf. e. g. Skr. yájya-s Gr. ἄγιος 'venerandus,' Lat. eximius (: emo), Goth. brūks, 'useful.' That, however, the passive meaning was not the only primitive one, is seen by the large number of verbal abstracts in different languages which presuppose an adjective with active or neutral verbal force. Thus Skr. vídya-m is 'the finding,' vācya-m 'the speaking,' Gr. σφάγιον 'the slaughtering,' Lat. studium 'study,' O. H. G. ga-sprāhhi 'discussion.' In Greek, moreover, we find adjectives like σφάγιος 'slaughtering,' with distinct active force.

31. To the adjectives and abstracts of the inherited type like σφάγιον continually new ones were added at every period by the addition

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb.<sup>2</sup> s. v.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 183 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For our purpose it is important merely to determine that the use of -ιον in verbals is inherited; whether this -(i)io- was originally primary, or whether the primitive was a root-noun in the pattern types, is a question that does not affect the subsequent history of Gr. -ιον in the least. For the latter theory cf. Hirt, Idg. Acc. 275; Brugmann, l. c. Cf. also the similar development of verbal adjectives and action nouns from historical substantives in § 31.



of denominative -ω- to nouns which were themselves either action nouns or agent nouns. As Skr. kṣatrā-m 'rule' gave rise to kṣatriya-s 'having to do with ruling,' i. e. 'ruling,' so Gr. ῥύσις 'having to do with delivery,' 'delivering,' goes back to the verbal abstract ῥύσις 'the delivering.' From an agent noun comes ἀλεξήτριος (: ἀλεξήτης) 'having the qualities of a helper,' 'helping.' Θεοπρόπιον is 'that which is connected with the seer (θεοπρόπος),' i. e. 'prophecy.' These diversities of origin will, however, be disregarded after this because the resulting meaning is the same for all of them, and they were undoubtedly soon levelled by the consciousness of the speakers of the language. An action noun would necessarily tend to being referred to the related verb rather than to another noun, since that is the more usual and the simpler relation. As a result new abstracts were sometimes made directly from all kinds of verbal roots, even secondary ones, as in ἁμαρτίον 'sin' from the quasi-root seen in ἡμαρτον, aorist of ἁμαρτάνω. The connection of the -ιον form with the verb would be further facilitated when its primitive becomes concrete, or is lost, as in case of τρωγάλιον or ἥτριον.

32. According to the form of the primitive the verbal abstracts in -ιον comprise the following classes: it may be (1) A verbal root or root-noun: ἐρείπιον: ἐρείπω, σφάγιον: σφάζω. (2) A secondary verbal root or tense-stem: ἁμαρτίον: ἁμαρτάνω, κυρήβια: κυρηβάζω, κέσκιον as if: a present \*κέσκω (cf. O. Blg. česati 'to comb'), συσσίτιον: συσσιτέω. (3) A noun ending in I. E. -t-,<sup>1</sup> seen in Skr. stutya-s 'to be praised,' Gr. διφάσιο-ς 'double': δίφατος, and in neuters like κυνηγέσιον: ἡγέομαι, συμπόσιον: συμπότης, γυμνάσιον: γυμνάζω. The -t- from I. E. times had no appreciable meaning. (4) A similar noun in -δ-, which was also meaningless; Arg. στάδιον 'stadium': στάω (Attic στάδιον by popular etymology, cf. Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb.<sup>2</sup> s. v.). Cf. § 321. (5) A noun ending in a regular nominal suffix<sup>2</sup>: ῥύσιον: ῥύσι-ς, συνεδρίον: συνεδ-ρα, ὄνια: ὠ-νή, ἥτριον: \*ἥτρο-ν.

33. With respect to meaning these verbal abstracts must be distinguished from adjectival abstracts expressing an attribute or state, for which see Chapter VI. Cf. Brugmann, K. Vgl. Gr. 340 ff., Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 626 ff. The class to be described here comprises those words

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, op. cit. 186 f.

<sup>2</sup> When the primitive is a word in -o- or -ā- it is often hard to say whether it may not just as well have been a root or root-noun, since these vowels suffer elision in derivation. Here may belong λόγιον: λόγος, μύριον: μύρος, ἀγέριον: ἀγορά.

which were originally action nouns. Like all abstracts they could become concrete in a variety of manners, and when there is no passage extant in which a given word has either abstract force or shows the transition from abstract to concrete, there may be doubt whether the derivative was not concrete from the beginning. Such words have been placed here when they neither have an extant substantive to which they could be referred, nor have before their -ιον a suffix which suggests nominal origin, in which case, unless due to the accident of transmission, the speaker must have referred the substantive to the verb, though even then the concrete meaning may have been original.

34. According to whether the idea of action is still dominant or concrete meanings of various kinds have been developed, the examples can be divided into the following classes, following in the main Brugmann l. c. The concrete meaning in every case results from an originally accessory and subordinate idea becoming dominant.

A. *The idea of action is still dominant:* ἁμαρτίον 'transgression,' κυνηγίον 'the hunting,' 'hunt.'<sup>1</sup>

B. *The verbal abstract expresses the result of an action.* The action and its result are practically indistinguishable in ideas like that of speaking, where the action of speaking is rarely separated from that which is spoken, the spoken word. So e. g. λόγιον 'the saying,' 'oracle,' εὐαγγέλιον 'good tidings.' When the result of an action is a concrete object the difference is more tangible, as in κυρήβια 'bran': κυρηβάζω 'to pound.'<sup>2</sup> Similarly Eng. 'the shavings' expresses the result of the action of shaving.

C. *The verbal abstract designates anything affected by the action.* It may designate the direct or indirect object of an action, as it did the internal object in B. Cf. Eng. wreck, offering, etc., Gr. σφάγιον 'the slaughtering,' 'sacrificial victim,' ἀγώγιον 'load.'<sup>3</sup> Not all substantivations of verbal adjectives which seem to belong here have really passed through the abstract stage. From verbal adjectives with passive meaning the neuter could be substantivized by taking up the

<sup>1</sup> Also ἀδίκιον, ἀμπλίκιον, γεώργιον, γυμνάσιον, διαβούλιον, καθάρσιον, κυνηγέσιον, μαρτύριον, μονομάχιον, μονοπόλιον, ὄργια, ὀρκωμόσια, παραμύθιον, ξόθιον, συμπόσιον, συνέδριον, συσσίτια, σφάγιον, τεχνήριον, τιθάσιον, φρικία, ψευδομαρτύριον. For an excursive group consisting of legal terms cf. § 35, note to ἀδίκιον.

<sup>2</sup> Also γεώργιον, δέμνια, διαβούλιον, ἐμβόλιον, θεμε(λ)ιον, θεοπρόπιον, κέσκιον, μύριον, πλαίσιον.

<sup>3</sup> Also ἀρχυστάσιον, ἐμβάμιον, ἐρείπια, ἥτριον, νανάγια, ὀλκίον, ὀύσιον, τόμιον, τρωγάλιον, χορήγιον.



general idea of things, so certainly in case of τὰ ὄνια: ὄνιος 'to be bought,' then 'wares,' 'merchandise,' as Xen. An. 1. 2. 18, οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον.

D. *The verbal abstract designates a place affected by the action:* γυμνάσιον 'bodily exercises' or 'gymnasium,' συνέδριον 'council' or 'council-chamber.'<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eng. refuge, both of the action and the place. Place names in -ιον which have no abstract meaning extant are probably in most cases concrete from the beginning. Thus καταγωγίον is 'that which is connected with putting in (καταγωγή),' 'an inn.' Cf. § 61 f.

E. *The verbal abstract designates the persons appearing as subject of the action:* κυνηγέσιον 'hunt' or 'hunting party,' συμπόσιον 'symposium,'<sup>2</sup> used of the guests of a drinking party. Only a plurality of persons is designated by -ιον forms because of the neuter gender, which does not occur in names denoting single individuals (except diminutives). All words belonging here are then also collectives.

F. *The verbal abstract designates a thing appearing as subject or instrument of an action,* the former certainly in case of intransitive verbal ideas, for which the conception of instrumentality is impossible. ῥόδιον 'wave' can only be 'that which roars,' not 'that with which one roars.' From such words it is only a small step to ἡρόιον 'tomb,' either 'that which covers' or 'that with which one is covered.' Similarly ἀντλίσιον 'bucket': ἀντλίω 'draw water' may have been vividly conceived as 'that which draws the water,' or 'that with which the water is drawn,' and so on with all instrument nouns originating as verbal abstracts. Nevertheless direct association between the instrument and the action is at least an equally important factor; for the instrument is but one of the things connected with the action. ἐψώνιον, originally 'the buying of provisions,' could come to denote that with which the provisions are bought, i. e. provision money, or the provisions themselves by an exactly similar process. Since, then, a thing as subject of an action is often not to be distinguished from an instrument in actual practice, the examples of both will be given together.

Instrument nouns of this type have a totally different history from those directly formed from an abstract primitive by means of the suffixal meaning 'connected with,' and yet can also not always be separated in practice. ὑδραγωγίον 'aqueduct' is undoubtedly originally 'that which is connected with the bringing of water (ὑδραγωγή),'

<sup>1</sup> Also συμπόσιον, συσσίτιον, χορήγιον.

<sup>2</sup> Also ἀγόριον, γυμνάσιον, συναγωγίον, συνέδριον, συσσίτιον.

yet may very well have been referred to the verb ὑδραγωγέω by the speaker. The instrument nouns of this type are however so much more numerous (cf. § 71 ff.), and the path to the designation of instrumentality is so much shorter, that it is safer to refer to it any instrument noun with no trace of abstract meaning if a possible nominal primitive is in existence, or if, like in ἰμάτιον, the -ιον is preceded by a suffix that is common in abstract nouns. Wherever this is not the case, as e. g. in case of ἀλείφιον, I have classed the word here, although even then the primitive substantive may be accidentally not quotable.<sup>1</sup>

G. *The verbal abstract is a collective,* it brings under one idea a number of persons or things or both. All of them are mentioned also under some other point of view. A number of persons could be designated by the words under E, a number of things by ῥόδιον and ἀρκεστάσιον, a number of persons and things by κυνηγέσιον. The use of the Neuter Singular as a collective representing things is comparatively rare because of the competition of the closely related meaning of the neuter plurals in -ια and the feminine collectives in -ια. Since the neuter singular in -ιον usually referred to a single object, it was convenient to keep the relation of singular and plural as nearly intact as possible. In contrast is the number of words in -ιον designating a number of persons (see sub E); for, since the neuter singular can hardly refer to a single person,<sup>2</sup> the plural can not be used of a number of persons, and there thus was no impulse for maintaining the differentiation between the two numbers.

35. *Collection of examples.* The words are arranged alphabetically, but under each word the different meanings are designated by letters referring to the uses described under the corresponding letters in § 34. A succession of two or more letters denotes that an example is on the border line between the categories represented, or shows the development of meaning from one to the other. Thus an A before an example means that the idea of action is dominant, AC that both the idea of action and the place connected are present, BC that a word is on the border line between result of an action and a thing affected by it.

ἀγαμίον δίχη, see note to ἀδίχιον. ἀγόριον: ἀγορά, ἀγείρω, 'the assembling,' 'assembly.' E) Hes., ἀγόριον· ἐκκλησία. ἀγώγιον: ἀγωγή,

<sup>1</sup> Words under F not before mentioned are βραγχία, ἐμβόλιον, παραμύθιον, χόριον.

<sup>2</sup> Excepting 'diminutives,' which have no influence here.



ἄγω, 'the leading,' 'taking,' 'what is taken,' 'load.' C) Xen. Cyr. 6. 1. 54, ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀγωγίου πείραν. ἀδίκιον<sup>1</sup>: ἄδικος, ἀδικέω, 'wrong-doing.' A) Herod. 5. 89, ἐπισχόντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγυπτέων ἀδικίου τριήκοντα ἔτεα. Plut. Per. 32, εἴτε κλοπῆς καὶ δόρων εἴτ' ἀδικίου βούλοισι τις ὀνομάζειν τὴν δίκην. ἀλείγιον: ἀλείφω, 'ointment.' F) Hes., ἀλείφιον· ὃ χρῶνται οἱ ἀλείπτει. ἁμάρτιον: ἁμαρτάνω, 'sin,' 'transgression,' cf. ἁμαρτία. A) Aesch. Pers. 676, Δίδυμα διαγόνεον ἁμάρτια. id. Ag. 537, Διπλᾷ δ' ἔτεισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια. ἀμπλάκιον: ἀμπλακίσκω, 'error,' 'offence,' cf. ἀμπλακία. A) Pind. P. 11. 26, τὸ δὲ (sc. μοιγεύεσθαι) νέαις ἀλόχοις Ἐχθιστον ἀμπλάκιον. ἀνδρολήψιον, see note to ἀδίκιον. ἀντλίων: ἀντλέω, 'bucket,' cf. § 34 F. F) Ar. and Epilyc. ap. AB. 411. 17. ἀρκευσιάσιον: ἴστημι, 'stationing of nets,' 'line of nets.' C) Xen. Cyn. 6. 6. βραγχία 'gills,' either from a root \*garengħ 'to make a noise with the throat,' or: Skr. brmhati 'bellows.' F) Theocr. 11. 54, Ὡμοι, ὅτ' οὐκ ἔτεκεν μ' ἅ μᾶτηρ βραγχί' ἔχοντα, Ὡς κατέδυν ποτὶ τίν. γεώργιον: γεωργός, γεωργέω, 'the tilling,' 'cultivation,' 'crop.' A) LXX Sirach 27. 6, γεώργιον ξύλου ἐκφαίνει ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ. B) Prov. 24. 5, κρείσσων σοφὸς ἰσχυροῦ, καὶ ἀνὴρ φρόνησιν ἔχων γεωργίου μεγάλου. γυμνάσιον; γυμνάζω, 'bodily exercises,' 'place for exercising' i. e. 'gymnasium,' also designates the youths that attend the training school. A) Pind. frg. 129, καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίῳις τε, τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς . . . τέρπονται. Herod. 9. 33, προσεῖχε γυμνασίῳισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας. AD) Antiph.

<sup>1</sup> It was probably the use of ἀδίκιον in legal phrases like the latter of the two examples that gave rise to a group of action nouns in -ιον which were confined to legal use, mostly, though not always, in certain stereotyped phrases with the genitive. So to γαμέω ἀγαμίον δίκη, ὀψιγαμίον δίκη, κακογαμίον δίκη, 'a prosecution for failure to marry, for late marriage (i. e. putting off marriage beyond the appointed age),' and 'for an ill marriage,' respectively. Plut. Lys. 30, ἦν γὰρ, ὡς εἴκεν, ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ ἀγαμίον δίκη καὶ ὀψιγαμίον καὶ κακογαμίον. Similarly μονογαμίον ἐπιτίμιον 'a penalty for marrying but once,' Clem. Al. 505; to κακηγορέω κακηγορίου δίκη 'an action for defamation' (cf. κακηγορίας δίκη), Dem. 21. 93, ἔλαχε τὴν τοῦ κακηγορίου δίκην. In the Nominative ἀνδρολήψιον: εἰ-ληψ-α, 'seizure of men' guilty of murdering citizens abroad, Dem. 23. 218; in the Dat. Pl. ψευδομαρτύριον: μάρτυρ, μαρτύρομαι (cf. μαρτύριον, which is not a legal term), 'false witness,' 'perjury.' Plato Theæt. 148 B, ἔνοχος τοῖς ψευδομαρτυρίῳις. How keenly the legal character of these words was felt is seen by the irregular analogical formation λιποταξίου γραμμή, 'an indictment for leaving one's post,' i. e. for desertion, Dem. 21. 103. Although the first part of the compound has the verbal meaning, yet the resemblance of idea to the other words here discussed led to the attaching of their suffix to the noun at the end.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterbuch<sup>2</sup> s. v.

3α3, μελετῶν μετὰ τῶν ἡλικίων ἀκοντίζειν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἔβαλε μὲν οὐδέναν ('during their exercising' or 'in the gymnasium'). D) Eur. Phoen. 368, Χρόνιος ἰδὼν μέλαθρα καὶ βωμοὺς θεῶν, Γυμνάσιά θ' ἐν οἷσιν ἐνετράφη. Plato Criti. 117 C, πολλοὶ δὲ κῆποι καὶ γυμνάσια ἐπεχειροῦργητο. E) Epigr. Gr. 252. 6, οὐδὲ λελήθεν Γυμνάσιον κωφοῖς δάκρυσι μυρόμενον. δέμνια: δέμω, 'that which is built,' a bedstead of wood in contrast to a bed made up on the ground.<sup>1</sup> B) τ 599, σὺ δὲ λέξεο τῷδ' ἐν οἴκῳ, Ἡ χαμάδις στορέσας, ἥ τοι κατὰ δέμνια θέντων. θ 277. διαβούλιον: διαβουλεύομαι, 'deliberation,' 'decree.' A) Polyb. 3. 20. 1, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . οὐ μὰ Δία περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τότε διαβούλιον ἔγγον. B) id. 4. 24. 2, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν μὲν καθήκει τοῖς γράφουσι τὰς κυρούσας τὰ διαβούλια γνώμας ἀνατιθέναι τοῖς προσεστώσι τῶν ὅλων. ἐμβάσιον: ἐμβάπτω, 'that into which one dips,' 'a flat vessel,' perhaps originally 'the dipping,' but cf. § 34 C on τὰ ὦνια. C) Herod. 2. 62, τὰ δὲ λύγνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια, ἐμπλεα ἄλῃς καὶ ἐλαίου. ἐμβόλιον: ἐμβολή, ἐμβάλλω, would seem to have been originally verbal, if the meaning 'that which is inlaid,' 'an emblem,' is certain for Insc. Olbia 67 (I. R. B. vol. 1), φιάλη ἀργυρᾷ σὺν ἐμβολίῳ χρυσέῳ. Aside from this example of the use B), there are others which would belong to F). Thus the word designates a hunting net Poll. 5. 35 (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δίκτυα τῶν κυνηγετικῶν τινες ἐμβόλια κεκλήκασι), and a javelin Diod. 1. 35 (ἐθηρεύετο δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα . . . ἐμβολίῳις σιδηροῖς). Perhaps, however, the word belongs to § 71 ff. ἐρείπια: ἐρείπω, 'the falling,' 'ruin,' 'wreck.' BC)<sup>2</sup> Herod. 2. 154, τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν αἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. Aesch. Ag. 660, Ὀρῶμεν ἀνδρῶν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς Ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρείπιοις. Soph. Aj. 308, ἐν δ' ἐρείπιοις Νεκρῶν ἐρειφθεῖς ἔζετ' ἀρνείου φόνου. εὐαγγέλιον: ἀγγέλλω (εὐαγγελίζομαι is a denominative to εὐαγγέλιον), 'good tidings.' B) Luc. As. 26, οἱ δὲ κομῆται, ὡς εἶδον ἡμᾶς ἔτι πόρρωθεν, ἔγνωσαν εὐτυχεῖντας, εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῖς ἐμοῦ προσκησαμένου. In the New Testament of the gospel, e. g. Acts 15. 7, ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. ἡρίον: Skr. Vyr 'to cover,' 'covering,' i. e. 'mound,' 'tomb.' F) Ψ 126: Theocr. 1. 125. ἡτριον<sup>3</sup>: Skr. Vvā 'to weave,' 'the weaving.' C) 'the woven cloth' in Eur. Ion 1420, Γοργῶν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Meister, BB. 11. 176.

<sup>2</sup> There is no psychological distinction involved whether e. g. ἐρείπια is considered as the remains of a house resulting from the wreck, or as its parts affected by the wreck.

<sup>3</sup> ἄτριον (Theocr. 18. 33) for ἡτριον is probably a hyperdorism, cf. ποιμάν, id. 1. 7.



ἐν μέσσοισιν ἡτρίοις πέπλων. Otherwise 'that around which is woven,' 'the warp,' so Plato Phaedr. 268 A, εἰδὲ καὶ σύ, εἰ ἄρα καὶ σοὶ φαίνεται διεστηκὸς αὐτῶν τὸ ἡτρίον ὥσπερ ἐμοί. *Θεμελία*, *Θεμελία* as if: \**Θεμε(ι)λη* (cf. *τί-θη-μι*), 'the founding,' 'foundation.' B) Arist. Phys. 2. 8. 200 a 4, οἱ λίθοι μὲν κάτω καὶ τὰ θεμέλια, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἄνω. M 28, Αὐτὸς δ' ἐνωσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαῖναν Ἥγεῖτ', ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντα θεμελία κύμασι πέμπεν Φίτρων καὶ λάων, τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί. *Θεοπρόπιον*: *θεοπρόπος*, *θεοπροπέω*, 'prophecy.' B) A 85, ὑαρσίστας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον ὅτι οἶσθα. Herod. 1. 7, ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου. *καθάρισον*: *καθάριστος*, *κάθαρις*, *καθαίρω*, 'purification.' A) Herod. 1. 35, καθαρσίον ἐδέετο ἐπικυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. *κακηγορίον* δίκη, see note to *ἀδίκιον*. *κακογαμίον* δίκη, see note to *ἀδίκιον*. *κεσκίον*: O. Blg. *česati* 'to comb,' 'the combings,' 'tow.' B) Hes., *κεσκίον*· *στυππεῖον*, τὸ ἀποκτένισμα τοῦ λίνου. *κυνηγέσιον*: *κυνηγέτης*, 'the hunt,' 'hunting party.' A) Eur. Hipp. 224, τί κυνηγεσίον καὶ σοὶ μελέτη; Xen. Cyn. 6. 11, τὸν δὲ κυνηγέτην ἔχοντα ἐξιέναι ἡμελημένῃν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον. EC) Herod. 1. 36, τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω. Xen. Cyn. 10. 4, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθόντας οὗ ἂν οἶωνται εἶναι ὑπάγειν τὸ κυνηγέσιον. *κυνήμιον*: *κυνηγέω*, 'the hunt.' A) Athen. 677 E, ἐν κυνηγίῳ καταβεβλήκει ὁ Ἀδριανός (sc. τὸν λέοντα). *κυνήβια*: *κυνηβάζω*, 'the poundings,' 'husks,' 'bran.' B) Crat. ap. Etym. Mag. 512. 8, κυρήβια γὰρ κυρίως τὰ ἀποβράσματα τῶν κυάμων. Κρατῖνος, . . . Κυρήβι ἐσθίων. *λόγιον*<sup>1</sup>: *λόγος*, *λέγω*, 'the saying,' 'response,' 'oracle.' B) Probably in the more general meaning 'saying' Thuc. 2. 8. 2, where the *λόγια* are contrasted with the utterances of the *χρησμολόγοι*<sup>2</sup>: καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> If, as seems probable, *λόγιον* is formed from *λόγος*, the latter must at one time have designated the action of speaking as well as the spoken word, whence an adjective *λόγιος*, 'speaking,' and the use of neuter *λόγιον* as an action noun. The development of the meaning 'oracle' or 'short saying' from the general idea 'speaking' is exactly paralleled by the German 'Spruch' and the English 'saying,' and it is therefore unnecessary to assume with Thayer, Lex. N. T. s. v., that *λόγιον* was a diminutive of *λόγος* with the original idea 'short saying,' and then 'oracle' because these were generally short. The latter view is particularly hazardous when we consider that in the numerous passages in which it occurs there is not one indication that it was felt as a diminutive, no accompanying adjective denoting small size, no indication of any emotional content of the word. It occurs, moreover, already in Herodotus, and that it should have lost its diminutive force so early, at a time from which we have no other example extant of a diminutive of an abstract word, is not conducive to the probability of the theory.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Passow, Lex. s. v.

δὲ χρησμολόγοι ἔδον. In the Septuagint and New Testament of any utterance of God and the prophets, e. g. of the precepts of Moses in Acts 7. 38, ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν. Of the substance of the Christian religion Hebr. 5. 12, διδάσκαι ὑμᾶς τινὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ. In its most frequent meaning 'oracle' already Herod. 4. 178, ταύτην τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι. id. 9. 42. *μαρτίριον*: *μάρτυρ*, *μαρτύρομαι*, 'testimony,' 'proof.'<sup>1</sup> AF) Herod. 2. 22, ὡς οὐδὲν οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν (sc. τὸν Νεῖλον) ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τούτων θερμοί. *μονογαμίον* ἐπιτίμιον, see note to *ἀδίκιον*. *μονομάχιον*: *μάχη*, *μάχομαι*, 'a single combat.' A) Luc. D. Meretr. 13. 5. *μονοπωλίον*: *πωλέω*, 'monopoly.' A) Hyp. ap. Poll. 7. 11 (otherwise *μονοπωλία*). *μόριον*: *μέρος*, *μείρομαι*, 'the allotting,' 'allotment,' 'part.'<sup>2</sup> AB)<sup>3</sup> Herod. 7. 23, ἀπολαχόντες γὰρ μόριον (sc. τοῦ διώρυγος) ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλλε. id. 2. 103, ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε. B) id. 2. 16, φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. Thuc. 6. 86. 5, ἔτι βουλῆσεσθε καὶ πολλοστὸν μόριον αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς ἐπικουρίας) ἰδεῖν. id. 1. 85. 1, ἐν βραχεὶ μορίῳ ἡμέρας. Men. frg. 4. 248; Diod. 1. 85. *ναυάγια*: *ἄγρωμι*, 'shipwreck' (cf. *ἐρείπια*). BC) Xen. Hell. 1. 7. 29, ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς. *ὀλκίον*: *ὀλκή*, *ἔλκω*, 'that which is drawn by the ship,' 'the rudder.' C) Soph. ap. Poll. 10. 134. *ὄργια*: *ἐργω*, originally 'doings,' then 'rites,' 'secret rites.' A) H. Hom. Ceres 273, Ὅργια δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼν (sc. Δημήτηρ) ὑποθήσομαι, ὡς ἂν ἔπειτα, Εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες, ἐμὸν νόον ἱλάσκεισθε. Aesch. Sept. 179, φυλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεος ὄργιον Μνῆστορες ἐστέ μοι. Eur. Bacch. 34; Ar. Ran. 356, ὅστις . . . γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρευσεν. *ὀρκωμόςια*: *ὀρκωμόςτης*, 'asseverations under oath' (cf. *ὀρκωμοσία*). A) Plato Phaedr. 241 A, οὐδ' ἔπως τὰ τῆς προτέρας ἀνοήτου ἀρχῆς ὀρκωμοσίαι

<sup>1</sup> In a legal sense the feminine *μαρτυρία* seems to have been used exclusively.

<sup>2</sup> While the idea 'part' naturally sometimes takes upon itself the implication of something very slight (cf. the fourth and fifth examples), it by no means follows that *μόριον* was a diminutive originally. Were that the case such usage as in the third example from Herodotus, where it is applied to continents, would be impossible. Secondly, however, with the grammarians, *μόριον* does seem to have been felt as a diminutive to *μέρος*. Cf. § 222.

<sup>3</sup> These examples are on the border line, because *μόριον* could be originally interpreted either as cognate accusative or direct object.



τε καὶ ὑποσχέσεις ἐμπεδώσει ἔχει. ὀψιγαμίον δίκη, see note to ἀδίκιον. ὀψώνιον: ὀψωνέω, 'the buying of provisions,' 'provisions,' 'provision money.' ACF) Thugen. frg. 4. 593, Ἡτήσεν εἰς ὀψώνιον τριώβολον. F) Polyb. 1. 78, παραιτεῖσθαι μέρος τι τῶν ἐξ ὁμολόγου προσοφειλομένων ὀψωνίων. παραμύθιον: παραμυθέω, 'exhortation,' 'consolation,' 'means of consolation.' A) Plato Legg. 880 A, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τις τοιούτους παραμυθίους εὐπειθῆς γίγνηται, εὐήνιος ἂν εἴη. F) id. Resp. 329 E, τοῖς γὰρ πλουσίοις πολλὰ παραμυθία φασιν εἶναι. Epigr. Gr. 298. 7, λύπης παραμύθιον. πλαίσιον: Lith. atsiplaitau 'spread myself' \*Vpela(i)<sup>1</sup> 'broaden,' therefore 'a widening,' i. e. 'rectangle.' B) Thuc. 6. 67. 1. ῥόθιον: ῥόθιος, ῥόθος, ῥοθέω, 'the roaring,' 'splashing,' 'that which roars or splashes,' i. e. a wave.<sup>2</sup> A) A loud shout or tumult Eur. Andr. 1096, Κἄκ τοῦδ' ἐχώρει ῥόθιον ἐν πόλει κακόν. Of the splashing of oars Aesch. Pr. 1048, Κῦμα δὲ πόντου τραχεῖ ῥοθίῳ Συγχώσειεν τῶν οὐρανίων Ἀστρων διόδους. Hyper. ap. Suidas s. v., τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐλαυνόντων πλῆθος καὶ τὸν τοῦ ῥοθίου ψόφον καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σκάφους ἐκπεπληγμένοι δεινῶς ἦσαν. Ar. Equ. 546 (metaphorically), Αἰρεσθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ῥόθιον, παραπέμψατ' ἐφ' ἑνδεκα κώπαις, Θόρυβον χρηστὸν ληαίτην. Of the rushing motion of horses Dionys. H. 6. 10, οὐδὲ τὸ ῥόθιον (sc. τῆς τῶν Λατίνων ἵππου) ῥοντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἱππεῖς ἀνέξεσθαι. AF) Eur. Cycl. 17, Παῖδες δ' ἐρετμοῖς ἤμενοι γλαυκὴν ἄλα Ῥοθιάσι λευκαίνοντες. F)<sup>3</sup> Soph. Phil. 688, ἀμφιπλάκτων ῥοθίων μόνος

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Prellwitz, Etym. Wörterb.<sup>2</sup> s. v.

<sup>2</sup> The use of ῥόθιον as referring to a wave does not necessarily in every case go back to the abstract use, but may as well be due to the ellipsis of a substantive meaning 'wave.' Cf. ε 412, ἀμφὶ δὲ κῆμα Βέβρυχεν ῥέθιον.

<sup>3</sup> By congeneric attraction to ῥόθιον in the meaning 'wave' κλυδώνιον: κλυδών, 'wave,' 'billow,' has gotten its suffix. Its meaning does not differ from that of its primitive in the slightest degree, the tendency to metaphorical and collective use being common to both words. That κλυδώνιον is a diminutive has been erroneously maintained under citation of Eur. Hec. 48, Φανήσομαι γὰρ, ὡς τάφου τλήμων τύχω, Δούλης ποδῶν πάροισιν ἐν κλυδωνίῳ. To interpret the word as diminutive here would give a truly ridiculous aspect to the passage, and the same is true of its metaphorical use in Aesch. Sept. 795, Πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε καὶ κλυδωνίῳ Πολλὰισι πληγαῖς ἄντην οὐκ ἐδέξατο. Similarly id. Choeph. 183, Κάμοι προσέειπεν καρδίαν κλυδώνιον Χολῆς. In both of these passages the implication is the very opposite of small size: the effect intended is such that we could translate 'a sea of wrath.' In Thuc. 2. 84. 3, where the word appears as a collective, the idea is also the reverse of a diminutive idea: τὰς κώπας ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐν κλυδωνίῳ ἀναφέρειν. Similarly Eur. Hel. 1209, ΘΕΟΚ. Θανάτῳ δὲ ποίῳ φησὶ Μενέλεων θανεῖν; ΕΛ. Οἰκτρόταθ' ὑγροῖσιν ἐν κλυδωνίοις ἄλός.

κλύων. Eur. I. T. 426 (collectively), Παρ' ἄλιον αἰγιαλὸν ἐπ' Ἀμφι-  
τρίτας Ῥοθίῳ δραμόντες. ῥύσιον: ῥύσιος, ῥύσις, 'the seizing,' i. e.  
'deliverance,' also 'what is seized,' i. e. 'booty' or 'pledge.' A) Aesch.  
Suppl. 314, Ἐπαφος ἀληθῶς ῥυσίων ἐπόνυμος. C) Λ 674, ἐν Ἡλιδι  
ναιετάσκειν, Ῥύσι' ἐλαυνόμενος. σπάδιον (στάδιον): σπάω (cf. § 32. 4),  
'that which is drawn out,' 'a stade.' B) Hes., σπάδιον· στάδιον.  
Insc. Argos IA. 37, τετράμι τε [σ]πάδιον νίκη καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὀπλίταν.  
σμπόσιον: σμπότης, 'a drinking together,' 'symposium,' 'drinking-  
room,' 'guests of a drinking party.' A) Theogn. 496, Ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ  
μυθεῖσθε παρὰ κρητῆρι μένοντες, Ἀλλήλων ἔριδας (τῆλ') ἀπερυκόμενοι,  
Ἐς τὸ μέσον φωνέοντες ὁμῶς ἐνὶ καὶ συνάπασιν· Χοῦτως σμπόσιον γίνεται  
οὐκ ἄχαρι. Herod. 2. 78, ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ σμπόσια ποιῶσι. Plato  
Resp. 363 C, κατακλίνοντες καὶ σμπόσιον τῶν ἀγίων κατασκευάσαντες.  
ADE) Phocyl. 11, Χρὴ δ' ἐν σμπόσιῳ κυλίκων περιισσομένων Ἡδέα  
κωτίλλοντα καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν. Theogn. 298, ἀναγκάη δ' ἐπίμειξις  
Ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου σμπόσιῳ τελέθει. Xen. Cyr. 8. 8. 10, Ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς  
νόμιμον μὴδὲ προχρῆδας εἰσφέρεισθαι εἰς τὰ σμπόσια. D) Callix. ap.  
Athen. 196 B, ἐφ' ὧν ἐπιστύλιον καθηρμόσθη τετράγωνον ὑπερεῖδον τὴν  
σύμπασαν τοῦ σμπόσιου στέγην. E) Plut. 2. 157 D, ἐπιστήσαντος δὲ  
τοῦ λόγου τὸ σμπόσιον ὃ μὲν Θαλῆς ἐπισκώπτων εὖ φρονεῖν ἔφη τὸν  
Ἐπιμενίδην. συναγωγήιον: συναγωγή, συνάγω, 'the bringing together,'  
'guests of a drinking party.' E) Men. frg. 4. 115 (6), Ἐπλήρωσέν  
τε τὸ συναγωγήιον. συνέδριον: συνέδρα, 'a sitting together,' 'council,'  
'council-chamber,' 'council-board.' A) Plato Protag. 317 D, συνέδριον  
κατασκευάσωμεν, ἵνα καθεζόμενοι διαλέγησθε; ADE) Herod. 8. 79,  
οὗτος ὦν ἦρ στας ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα. D) Xen.  
Hell. 2. 4. 23, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ  
ἐρημοὶ συνεκάθηγον ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ. E) Din. 1. 54, ἰσχύσει μᾶλλον τῆς  
ἀληθείας ἢ παρὰ τούτου βῆθησομένη κατὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου (i. e. the Araeo-  
pagus council) διαβολή. συσσίτιον: συσσιτέω, 'a messing together,'  
'a common meal,' 'room in which common meals are held,' occasion-  
ally with the accessory notion of the people assembled. A) Herod.  
1. 65, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ  
συσσίτια . . . ἔστησε Λυκούργος. Strabo 794, τῶν δὲ βασιλείων μέρος  
ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον . . . οἶκον μέγαν ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετε-  
χόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν. DE) Eur. Ion 1165, χρυσέους  
τ' ἐν μέσῳ συσσιτίῳ Κρατῆρας ἔστησ'. D) Plato Legg. 762 C, καθ'  
ἐκάστους τοὺς τόπους εἶναι ξυσσίτια, ἐν αἷς κοινῇ τὴν δίκαιαν παιητέον  
ἔπασιν. σφάγιον: σφάγιος, σφάζω, 'the slaughtering,' 'what is  
slaughtered,' 'victim,' particularly 'sacrificial victim.' A) Eur. Hec.



135, πείθει στρατιάν Μὴ τὸν ἄριστον Δαναῶν πάντων Δούλων σφαγίων εἶνεκ' ἀπωθεῖν. id. Or. 815, 'Ὅποτε χρυσαίας ἕρις ἄρνός Ἡλυθε Τανταλίδαις, Οἰκτρότατα θοινήματα καὶ Σφάγια γενναίων τεκέων. AC) Herod. 6. 112, τὰ σφάγια ἐρίνετο καλά. Xen. An. 1. 8. 15, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλά καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά. Aesch. Sept. 230,<sup>1</sup> 'Ἀνδρῶν τὰδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια Θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν πολεμίων πειρωμένους; Eur. Suppl. 1196,<sup>1</sup> 'Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τέμνειν σφάγια χρή σ'. C) Soph. Aj. 219, 'Τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἴδοις σκηνῆς ἐνδον Χειροδάκτυλα σφάγι' αἰμοβαφεῖ. Eur. Or. 842, Σφάγιον ἔδειτο ματέρα, πατρώων παθῶν ἀμοιβάν. Dem. 60. 29, ἐκ-τὰς ἔδουσαν σφάγιον τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας. τεκμήριον: τέκμαρ, τεκμαίρομαι, 'sign,' 'token,' 'proof,' cf. μαρτύριον. F) Aesch. Choeph. 206, Καὶ μὴν στίβοι γε, δεύτερον τεκμήριον, Ποδῶν ὄμοιοι τοῖς τ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐμμερεῖς. Antiph. 2 δ 10, τὰ τε τεκμήρια ἐμὰ, οὐ τούτων ὄντα ἐδήλωσα. τιθάσιον: τιθασιεύω, 'taming,' 'domestication,' cf. τιθασιεία. A) Theophr. H. P. 3. 2. 2, τῶν ζώων τὰ συνανθρωπεύόμενα καὶ δεγόμενα τιθάσιον. τόμιον: τομή, τέμνω, 'the cutting,' 'slicing,' 'what is sliced,' 'victim.' AC) Ar. Lys. 192,<sup>1</sup> εἰ λευκὸν ποθεν ἵππον λαβοῦσαι τόμιον ἐντεμοίμεθα; C) ib. 186, καὶ μοι δότω τὰ τόμιά τις. τρωγάλιον<sup>2</sup>: \*τρώγαλον, τρώγω, 'that which is to be eaten' or 'is eaten.' C) Pind. frg. 94, Δείπνου δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὺ τρωγάλιον Καίπερ πέδ' ἄφθονον βοράν. Ar. Pax 772: id. Pl. 798 (see § 175). τὰ φρικία: φρίσσω, 'shiverings.' A) Diosc. 4. 14, ἀλειφόμενα δὲ μετ' ἐλαίου ἐπὶ τῶν περιοδικῶν τὰ φρικία παραιτεῖται. χορήγιον: χορηγός, χορηγέω, 'training of a chorus,' then generally 'the supplying,' 'supplies,' also 'training place of a chorus.' C) Polyb. 1. 17, συνήθροισαν τὰ τε χορήγια καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις. D) Dem. 19. 200, τὰ τελευταῖα δ' ἐναγχος ἐν χορηγίοις ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπὶ τῷ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀγαπητῶς παρατρεφόμενον; χόριον: Skr. Vhr. 'that which surrounds' or 'by which something is surrounded,' i. e. the membrane around the embryo or inside of egg, intestine, leather, etc. F) Arist. Part. An. 2. 7. 745 b 35, μετὰ δὲ τῆς ὑστέρας καὶ τοῦ ἐμβρύου τὸ χόριον καὶ οἱ ὑμένες εἰσίν. ψευδομαρτύριον, see note to ἀδίκιον.

## VI. ADJECTIVAL ABSTRACTS IN -ιον EXPRESSING AN ATTRIBUTE OR STATE.

36. Just as the neuter singular of any adjective with verbal meaning can be substantivized into an action noun, so the neuter of an

<sup>1</sup> For reason for placing these examples on the border line see note to μόριον.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps concrete from the beginning. Cf. τὰ ὄνια, § 34 C.

adjective expressing an attribute or state can also be used as an abstract. Among words in -ιον of this kind we find e. g. τὸ ἐλευθέριον 'freedom': ἐλευθέρως 'free,' in Xen. Mem. 3. 10. 5, 'Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ τὸ ταπεινόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ τὸ σωφρονικόν τε καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ τὸ ὑβριστικόν τε καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἐστώτων καὶ κινουμένων ἀνθρώπων διαφέρειν. Similarly τὸ μέτριον 'moderation': μέτριος 'moderate,' Soph. Oed. Col. 1212, 'Ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους χρήζει, τοῦ μετρίου παρεῖς, Ζῶειν, σκαιουσύναν φυλάσσειν' Ἐν ἐμοὶ κατάδηλος ἔσται. Xen. Mem. 3. 13. 5, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκάζεσθαι παραιτέρω τοῦ μετρίου μηχανέειν τὰς ὁδοὺς χαλεπόν. Such words were naturally always referred to their adjectives by the Greeks, for this was a productive method of forming abstracts. It is therefore unnecessary to make an extended collection of examples.

37. The line of distinction between these abstracts and those with verbal force is by no means sharp; for an attribute or characteristic of an object very easily gets the accessory notion of an activity of this characteristic in that to which it belongs.<sup>1</sup> Thus among -ιον nouns τὸ αἷτιον 'the cause,' with the distinct idea of activity, must have been originally conceived as 'the blame-worthiness'; for it comes from the adjective αἷτιος 'blame-worthy.' The meaning 'cause' e. g. Dem. 8. 56, τί ποτ' οὖν τὸ αἷτιον, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικοῦντα, πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα, μηδένα τούτων πόποτ' εἰπεῖν ὡς πόλεμον ποιεῖ; Plato Phaedo 110 E, τὸ δ' αἷτιον τούτου εἶναι ὅτι ἐκείνοι οἱ λίθοι εἰσὶ καθαροί. Similarly ἀδίκιον 'an unjust act' (§ 35) is derived from ἀδικός, which originally meant 'not according to custom,' and only secondarily became verbal in meaning.

38. Like abstracts with verbal meaning these could become concrete, though in a different way. That to which an attribute belongs is often designated by the attribute designating word itself,<sup>2</sup> e. g. in Eng. youth, beauty, divinity. So in Greek τὸ δημόσιον 'the state': δημόσιος 'belonging to the state.' Herod. 1. 14, οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θυσαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. Andoc. 1. 73, οἱ μὲν ἀργύριον ὀφείλοντες τῷ δημοσίῳ, ὅποσοι εὐδύναντες ὄφλον ἄρξαντες ἀρχάς, ἢ ἐξούλας ἢ γραφάς ἢ ἐπιβολὰς ὄφλον, ἢ ὄντας πριάμενοι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου μὴ κατέβαλον τὰ χρήματα, ἢ ἐγγύας ἐγγυήσαντο πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον. τὸ δαιμόνιον 'divinity': δαιμόνιος 'divine,' often in the general and vague meaning 'divine power,' which suggests its abstract origin:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 626.

<sup>2</sup> id. ib. 641.



Herod. 2. 120, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος ὅπως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολό-  
μενοι καταφανέες τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδι-  
κημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσι καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. id. 5. 87; Dem.  
9. 54, πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμουγ' ἐπήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ τι δαιμόνιον  
τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ. From this vague meaning a personal meaning  
was developed, and δαιμόνιον was applied also to a single god,<sup>1</sup> e. g.  
to Apollo at Delphi in the inscription CB. 2527. 14 (215–212 B. C.),  
τῶν πᾶσάν τε σπουδὴν ποιούμενος τᾶς εἰς τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐσεβείας.

It is evident that when a word is older than the beginning of the  
transmission and occurs only in a concrete sense, there may often be  
a doubt whether it may not have been originally abstract. Thus Brug-  
mann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 189, derives οἶκion 'house' from an abstract mean-  
ing 'Häuslichkeit,' 'Behausung,' yet it may even better be concrete  
from the beginning (cf. § 88 f.). Since decisive criterions for the  
individual words are usually lacking, it is best to treat them as  
originally concrete if possible.

39. Sometimes a substantive which has an appearance of being  
originally abstract really arose by ellipsis. τὸ σκόλιον 'banquet song':  
σκολιός<sup>2</sup> 'crooked' was not originally 'crookedness,' but came from  
σκολιδόν μέλος, which was a concrete idea before μέλος was omitted.  
Similarly when substantivation took place by taking up with the ad-  
jective the general idea of a thing or things. κειμήλιον 'treasure':  
κεῖμαι was not 'the lying,' but 'the lying things.' Cf. α 312, Δῶρον  
ἔχων . . . Τιμῆεν, μάλα καλόν, ὃ τοι κειμήλιον ἔσται.

## VII. WORDS IN -ιον FROM ADJECTIVE PRIMITIVES.

40. In various languages there exist such pairs of adjectives as  
μεῖλιχος and μεῖλιχος, 'mild,' 'gentle,' δόχμος and δοχμός 'oblique,'  
Skr. usriyas and usrás 'reddish,' in which the -(i)io- seems to be a  
mere formal extension to the primitive, bringing with it no change  
of meaning. So also compounds like ὁμοπάτριος and ὁμοπάτωρ 'from

<sup>1</sup> In Attic δαιμόνιον was applied only to inferior divinities, cf. Plato Symp.  
202 D, καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ. Probably this  
development is due to the influence of the diminutives in -ιον; δαιμόνιον:  
δαίμων = παιδίον: παῖς. Cf. § 222.

<sup>2</sup> The accent of σκόλιον on the propenultima instead of ultima must be  
later than its substantivation, and is due to the analogy of other substan-  
tives (§ 20 ff.).

the same father,' Lat. bipedius and bipes 'having two feet.' Accord-  
ing to Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 193, this use of -ιο- is secondary and  
in the earliest cases only apparent; for, on the one hand the primi-  
tive may have been a noun originally, as μάκαρ, the primitive of μα-  
κάριος, originally 'happiness,' but later 'happy'; on the other hand  
the neuter of the primitive adjective was in many cases conceived  
as an adjectival abstract (cf. § 36), so that the derivative in -ιο-  
originally emphasized the idea of 'having the nature of,' e. g. τὸ  
μεῖλιχον 'mildness' gave rise to μεῖλιχος 'having mildness as his nature.'  
This fine distinction, however, was soon effaced, and for all practical  
purposes primitive and derivative can be considered as equivalent.

We can distinguish two main classes of such words according  
to whether they were simple or compound.

### 1. SIMPLE WORDS.

41. In case of the neuter substantives belonging here the develop-  
ment of meaning is such that in the majority of instances they can  
be traced to the substantivized Neuter of the primitive adjectives, and  
so they have been mentioned in their proper place with substantive  
derivatives. ὀπτάνιον 'kitchen' is the place used for roasting (τὸ  
ὀπτανόν, neuter of ὀπτανός), στεφανηπλόκιον is the place connected with  
the making of wreaths (στεφανηπλόκον, neuter of στεφανηπλόκος), μα-  
λάκιον 'mollusks' are the animals of the soft kind (τὸ μαλακόν, neuter  
of μαλακός). Other -ιον derivatives from adjectives are due to con-  
generic attraction, e. g. πτυκτίον: πτυκτός 'a folded book,' 'writing  
tablet,' has followed words like βιβλίον and πυξίον (§ 101 C). Finally,  
λείριον 'lily': λείριος: λειρός<sup>1</sup> 'thin,' 'pale,' arose by ellipsis, as it  
appears from Pind. N. 7. 79, λείριον ἄνθεμον. Otherwise it appears  
completely substantivized, e. g. H. Hom. Ceres 427, Theophr. H. P.  
6. 6. 9.

### 2. COMPOUND WORDS.

42. When the original fine distinction between -ιο- words and  
their adjective primitives had become effaced (§ 40), the existence  
of compound adjectives with and without -ιο- alongside of each other  
in the same meaning allowed the former to be referred directly to

<sup>1</sup> This etymology e. g. in Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v. Hehn, Kulturpfl.<sup>7</sup> 250 and  
n. 62, believes the word to be borrowed from the Persian laleh. Cf. also  
ib. p. 258 f.



the separate constituents of the compound, and this in turn caused the suffix to appear merely as the exponent of its adjectival function; in other words, *-(i)io-* had from I. E. times become associated with the formation of exocentric<sup>1</sup> or transferred adjective compounds. The decisive criterion to show that this new function had fully developed is the existence of such compound adjectives in *-(i)io-* as have no corresponding form without it, but are formed directly from their constituents, e. g. Gr. *τριημιπόδιος* 'a foot and a half long,' without a corresponding *τριημίπους*.

43. Most frequently, since I. E. times, such compounds were formed from phrases consisting of a preposition and its governed substantive, so e. g. Skr. *ādhi-gart-ya-s* 'being on the seat of the wagon,' *api-kaks-ya-s* 'being near the arm-pit,' Gr. *περι-σφύρ-ιος* 'around the ankle,' Lat. *e-greg-ius* 'outside of the herd,' 'extraordinary,' Goth. *uf-aip-eis* 'under oath'; but the same formation was also used in all other classes of exocentric compounds, so e. g. Av. *hu-raiθ-ya-* 'upon a beautiful chariot,' Gr. *ὁμο-πάτερ-ιος* 'from the same father,' *ἡλιο-σκόπιος* 'looking to the sun,' Lat. *bi-ped-ius*. Cf. Brugman, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 112, 193; Wackernagel, Ai. Gr. 2. 106 ff.

44. These adjectives gave rise to a large number of Greek neuter substantives, some arising by the various methods of substantivation (§ 11), others formed analogically to these. Since, moreover, the *-io-* brought with it no definitive meaning except its adjectival function, the substantivized neuters also could stand in a great variety of relations to their constituents, the only restriction being that the substantives, since derived from the exocentric adjectives, must themselves be exocentric.

45. In course of time the use of this compound forming *-ιον* was extended from exocentric to certain esocentric compounds through a variety of causes. In the first place, the relation between the constituents of an exocentric compound in *-io-* was sometimes of such a nature that a meaning was attributed to the suffix which was parallel to the meaning of *-io-* in simple words and esocentric compounds. *ὁμο-πάτερ-ιος* does not owe its meaning 'coming from the same father' to its *-io-*, but rather to the collocation of the ideas 'same' and 'father,' for *ὁμο-πάτωρ* has exactly the same meaning; yet it was inevitable that the influence of simple words in which *-io-* was in reality the exponent of the idea of descent (§ 91 ff.)

<sup>1</sup> For terms esocentric and exocentric cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 71 ff.

should cause the suffix of the compound to be interpreted similarly. In the same way *περι-σφύρ-ια* 'that which is around the ankles,' 'anklets,' would be felt as having the same suffix as *βραχιόν-ιον* 'that which belongs to' or 'is around the arm.' In the second place, primitives which were themselves compounds gave rise to *-ιον* derivatives on the same principles as simple words, and yet their form was such that they often looked like exocentric compounds having similar constituents. Formally *περιζώματ-ιον* suggests *περι-σφύρ-ιον*, yet the former is formed directly from *περιζώμα* with the idea 'a garment of the *περιζώμα* kind,' while the latter is 'that which is around the ankle,' and is formed directly from its constituents by the compound forming *-ιον*. Similar are *μετοίκ-ιον* 'metic's tax': *μέτοικος* 'metic' and *ἐπ-οίκ-ια* 'buildings about the house,' formed by the compound forming *-ιον*. As a result of these forces alone, namely, apparent similarity of function in some cases, apparent similarity of form in others, the distinction between *-ιον* in exocentric and the original esocentric compounds, which latter are formed on the same principles as simple words, would tend to break down, and thus bring about full assimilation of meanings.

46. Another important point of contact between exocentric and esocentric compounds results from the fact that the two classes are indistinguishable in verbal adjectives and abstracts. So e. g. *εὐαγγέλιον* 'good tidings' evidently comes from an adjective *εὐαγγέλιος* 'reporting good,' but whether this has received its suffix because its verbal nature was felt, or because it was felt as an exocentric compound, is totally uncertain; for the use of *-io-* in simple verbal adjectives like *σφάγιος* forbids us to assume that the compound forming *-ιον* was responsible for all words of this type.

47. Finally, compounds in *-ιον* sometimes passed from exocentric to esocentric meaning by shift of point of view in the words themselves. *ἀντι-κνήμιον*, originally 'that which is in front of the leg,' was interpreted as 'the front leg,' and so got the subject within its own limits. Similarly *προ-κόμιον* 'that which is in front of the hair' was more logically felt as 'the front hair'; *ἐπ-οίκ-ια*, 'the buildings round about the house' became 'the houses round about'; *προ-άστιον* 'that which is in front of the city' became 'the front city,' i. e. suburb; *προ-οίμιον* 'that which comes before the song' became 'the beginning of the song'; *ἡμι-κοτύλιον* 'a measure consisting of a cup and a half' became 'a cup and a half'; *ἀκρο-θίνιον* 'that which is at the top of the heap' became 'the top of the heap.' That such change of interpretation really did take place is shown by the large number of eso-



centric compounds beginning with ἡμι- and ἀκρο- in which there never could have been an exocentric interpretation, e. g. ἡμι-κλήριον 'half of the inheritance,' ἡμι-λόγιον 'half a company,' ἡμι-τέχριον 'half an art,' i. e. a wretched art, ἀκρο-ἄξιον 'end of the axle,' ἀκρο-στόμα 'edge of the lips.'

48. As a result of these different forces -ιον in exocentric and esocentric compounds became so thoroughly confused that the suffix seemed a fit means of forming nominal compounds of almost any kind (cf. e. g. κενο-τάφιον 'an empty tomb,' i. e. cenotaph), and even where the primary impulse of adding the -ιον was not the fact that a word was a compound, we may surmise that the frequency of the latter kept old and rare meanings relatively more productive in compounds than in simple words. Thus almost half of the abstract words of § 35 are compounds, and we find such pairs as παρὰ-μῦθιον : μῦθος, συν-ἔδριον : ἔδρα.

49. No attempt is made to give a complete list of the numerous neuter substantives belonging here, nor to subdivide the selection of examples given according to the apparent effect of the suffix (§ 45), but merely to give a few representative examples, and to discuss a few excursive groups.

#### A. Prepositional Compounds.

50. Examples. a) Adjectives are extant: ἐγ-κώμιον (sc. μέλος) 'a panegyric': ἐγκώμιος 'belonging to the celebration of the victor.' As an adjective Pind. O. 2. 52, Ἐγκωμίων τε μελέων λυρᾶν τε τυγχάνεμεν. As a substantive Xen. Ag. 10. 3. ἐν-τάφιον 'shroud': ἐντάφιος 'belonging to burial.' Sim. Ce. 4. 4. ἐν-ύπνιον 'something seen in sleep,' 'a dream': ἐν-ύπνιος 'in sleep.' ζ 495; Ar. Vesp. 25. ἐν-ώπια 'the wall before the eyes' of him who enters from the courtyard: ἐνώπιος 'before the eyes.' Θ 435. ἐπι-νίκιον (sc. μέλος) 'song of victory': ἐπινίκιος 'belonging to victory.' Aesch. Ag. 174; Athen. 3 E. ἐπ-ίστιον 'that which belongs to the hearth,' 'household': ἐπίστιος 'belonging to the hearth.' Herod. 5. 72. ἐπι-σφύρια 'anklet,' 'greave-holder': ἐπισφύριος 'over the ankle.' Γ 331. μετ-αίχιμον 'space between two armies': μεταίχιμος 'between the armies.' Herod. 6. 77. περι-ανχένιον 'neck-lace': περιανχένιος 'around the neck.' App. Mithr. 85. περι-πόλιον 'guard-house near the city': περιπόλιος 'lying around the city.' Thuc. 6. 45. περι-σφίριον 'band for the ankle': περισφύριος 'around the ankle.' Herod. 4. 176. προ-άστιον 'suburb': προάστιος 'before the city.' Soph. El. 1431; CIA 4. 2.

574 e (312 B.C.). προ-νόπια 'front part of house': προνώπιος<sup>1</sup> 'in front.' Eur. Bacch. 639. ὑπο-ζύγιον 'beast of burden': ὑποζύγιος 'under the yoke.' Thuc. 2. 3. 3.

b) No adjectives are extant (mostly exocentric). ἀντι-κνήμιον 'that which is in front of the leg,' 'shin.' Arist. H. A. 1. 15. 494 a 6. δια-πύλιον 'toll for passing through the gates.' id. Oec. 2. 1348 a 26. ἐλ-λύνιον 'that which is in the lamp,' 'wick.' Herod. 2. 62. ἐν-ώτιον 'that which is in the ear,' 'ear-ring.' Aesch. frg. 102. ἐπ-οίκια 'buildings around the house,' 'minor buildings.' Tab. Her. 1. 146. ἐγ-όδια 'provisions for the journey.' Herod. 4. 203; Dem. 3. 20. μετα-πίργιον 'space between two towers.' Thuc. 3. 23. 1. μετ-όρχιον 'space between rows of vines.' Ar. Pax 568. μετ-ώπιον (cf. μέτ-ωπον) 'that which is between the eyes,' 'forehead.' Λ 95; Π 739. παρα-σγήριον: σφήν 'wedge,' a ston-cutter's instrument. Insc. Delos Mich. 594. 88. περι-κάρπιον, 'that which is around the wrist,' 'a bracelet.' Poll. 5. 99. προ-αύλιον 'place before a court,' 'vestibule.' Poll. 1. 77. προ-κόλπιον 'that which is before the breast,' a robe falling over it. Luc. Pisc. 7. προ-κόμιον 'that which is in front of the hair,' 'front hair' of men or horses. Xen. Equ. 5. 6; also 'that which takes the place of hair,' 'false hair.' Ar. frg. 2. 1078. προ-κώμιον 'that which comes before the κῶμος,' 'prelude of a song.' Pind. N. 4. 11. ὑπερ-θύριον 'that which is above the door,' 'lintel.' η 90. ὑπ-ώπιον<sup>2</sup> 'that which is under the eyes,' i. e. a part of the face in M 463, a blow under the eyes in Ar. Vesp. 1386. ὑφ-όλμιον 'that which is under the mortar,' 'mortar-stand.' Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 114.

51. Among smaller excursive groups of words among those mentioned may be named: (1) Articles of dress or ornament (cf. § 260 E): ἐνώπιον, ἐπισφύριον, περιανχένιον, περικάρπιον, περισφύριον, προκόλπιον, προκόμιον. (2) Parts of the body: ἀντικνήμιον, μετώπιον, ὑπόπιον, προκόμιον. (3) Parts of the house or yard: ἐνώπια, προνώπια, προαύλιον, ἐποίκια. (4) Songs etc.: ἐγκώμιον, προκώμιον, ἐπινίκιον.

<sup>1</sup> Since there is no trace of the idea 'leaning' or 'sloping' in the use of the adjective προνώπιος, it seems better to divorce it and the substantive προνώπια from προνοπής and other words mentioned by Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v. νάπη, and refer to ὤψ. προ-ν-ώπιος would then be 'before the eyes,' i. e. 'in front.' The -ν- can be explained as brought in from the congeneric ἐν-ώπιος and ἀν-ώπιον. To assume syncope from \*προτενώπια, as has been done under citation of Eustath. 82. 35, 312. 14, is, of course, unquestionably wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The late adjective ὑπώπιος 'with black eye' (Poll. 8. 79) is a retrograde derivative from ὑπόπιον; for its meaning could not have developed from 'under the eye' in the adjective itself.



## B. Numeral Compounds and Compounds designating a Part of the Simplex.

52. a) Integral numeral compounds. While there was nothing in the original nature of -(i)om which should make it unfit for integral numeral compounds any more than for any other kinds, this use of the suffix has not been productive in Greek, and remained altogether in exocentric bounds. I have found only the following,<sup>1</sup> all without corresponding adjectives: *μον-ημέριον* 'a hunt lasting only one day.' Anth. P. 9. 581. *μονο-πύργιον* 'a fortress with only one tower.' Procopius Aed. 4. 5. *δι-έδριον* 'that which has seats for two,' 'a double seat.' Suid. s. v. *δι-λήμνιον* 'that which consists of two lemnisci,' 'a double lemniscus.' Insc. Rhod. CIG. 2525 b 56. *τρι-κλίσιον* 'a dining room with three couches.'<sup>2</sup> Theopomp. frg. 2. 816 (2). *τρι-μάτιον* 'a measure of three μάται,' perhaps an adjective: Wilcken O. G. 752, μεμετρήκασι . . . τριματίω μέτρον. *τρι-μήσιον* 'a space of three months.' PK. 1. 73, 77. *τρι-πόδιον* 'that which has three feet,' 'a tripod,' cf. *τρίπους*. Antiphan. frg. 3. 146; Men. frg. 4. 143; Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 39. *τρι-φύλλιον* 'tre-foil,' 'clover,' cf. *τρίφυλλον*. Schol. Od. 8 603; Aretae Cur. M. Diut. 2. 13. *πεντ-όγκιον*<sup>3</sup> 'a quantity of five ὀγκία.' Epich. frg. 10. The significance of this small list is further increased by the fact that all of these words, with the exception of *τριπόδιον*, which was felt as congeneric to other names of vessels in -ιον, and perhaps was formed by their influence rather than the compound forming -ιον, were very rare words. Moreover, for the Sicilian *πεντόγκιον* (see note) Italic influence is probable, as also for the late words *τριμάτιον* (cf. Lat. tri-modium), *τριμήσιον* (cf. Lat. se-mestrium), *τριφύλλιον* (cf. Lat. tri-folium), and *διέδριον* (cf. Lat. bi-sellium). Certain of direct borrowing from Latin we are in case of *τριούγκιον* *Ἰταλικόν*. CIG. 8549. The reason for the difference of attitude to these compounds between Latin and Greek is to be sought in the fact that in Latin the use of -ium forms as collectives, with which integral numeral compounds have a certain similarity, was quite frequent, while in Greek both of these uses were felt as somewhat incongruous with certain other meanings of -ιον, namely

<sup>1</sup> L. and Sc. also give *τρι-ώριον* 'three hours' on the supposition that Lat. tri-horium must be a Greek word because its last constituent is Greek. The rarity of Greek words of this type in comparison to the Latin is a sufficient answer to this.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a diminutive, cf. § 211 D s. v.

<sup>3</sup> *πεντόγκιον* is a reasonably certain conjecture for the msc. *πετόγκιον*.

'something like, but not equivalent to the primitive (§ 132 ff.)' and the diminutive meaning. Consequently the feminines in the very common collective suffix -ια were preferred for integral numeral compounds also, so e. g. in *δι-ωβελία*, *τρι-ωβελία*, *τρι-στιγία*, etc.

53. b) Compounds of ἡμι-. The very same reason which accounts for the rarity of the words discussed in the last paragraph also explains the frequency of those beginning with ἡμι-. *ἡμι-στίχιον* 'a half line' was also a short line, and so its suffix could suggest the diminutive meaning of -ιον, although having nothing to do with it in its formation. *ἡμι-τέχνιον* 'a half art,' i. e. a wretched art, could suggest the deteriorative use. Oftener the idea 'something like, but not complete' could be attributed to the suffix, e. g. *ἡμι-σφαίριον* 'a half, but not a complete sphere,' *ἡμι-κοτύλιον* 'a half, but not a full cup.' For this reason, and because the transition to exocentric meaning was particularly easy in this kind of compound (§ 47), large numbers of them were formed directly from their constituents, and only in four cases have I found corresponding adjectives: *ἡμιόλιον* (sc. *πλάσων*) 'a vessel of one and a half banks of oars': *ἡμιόλιος* 'consisting of a half and a whole.' Hes. *ἡμι-κύκλιον* 'semi-circle': *ἡμικύκλιος* 'semi-circular.' Hes.; Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 31. *τρι-ἡμι-πόδιον* 'three half feet': *τριημιπόδιος*. Xen. Oec. 19. 5. Similarly *πενθ-ἡμι-πόδιον* (l. c.) 'five half feet': *πενθημιπόδιος*. In contrast to these four words is the large number of compounds of ἡμι- without corresponding adjective, largely with esocentric meaning or on the border line: *ἡμι-άνδριον* 'a half man,' 'eunuch,' cf. *ἡμί-ανδρος*. Theoph. Sim. Ep. 43. *ἡμι-αμφορίον* 'a half ἀμφορεύς.' Jos. B. J. 2. 21. 2. *ἡμι-άρτιον* 'a half loaf.' Sophr. frg. 28; Hes. *ἡμι-αστραγάλιον* 'a half astragalus.' Arist. H. A. 2. 1. 499 b 25. *ἡμι-δακτύλιον* 'a half finger's breadth.' Insc. Att. CIG. 123. 25; Insc. Andania Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 653. 21. *ἡμι-διπλοῖδιον* 'a woman's dress doubled on top so as to fall half-way down the figure.' Ar. Eccl. 318. *ἡμι-θωράκιον* 'half-thorax,' i. e. front plate of thorax. Plut. 2. 596 D. *ἡμι-κάδιον* 'a half κάδος.' Insc. Sic. CIG. 5641. 94; Poll. 10. 71. *ἡμι-κλήριον* 'half the inheritance.' Isae. 7. 6; Dem. 48. 20. *ἡμι-κόλλιον* 'μέτρον αἴνου. οἱ δὲ ἡμιχρονίσιον, Hes. *ἡμι-κόσμιον* 'half the world.' Niceph. Blemm. 236. *ἡμι-κοτύλιον* 'a half cup.' Arist. H. A. 6. 18. 573 a 7. *ἡμι-λίτριον* 'a half λίτρα.' Epich. frg. 9. *ἡμι-λόχιον* 'half a company.' Ael. Tact. 5. *ἡμι-ούγκιον* 'half an ounce.' Epich. ap. AB. 98. 33. *ἡμι-πόδιον* 'a half foot.' Theophr. H. A. 7. 2. 7; Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 537. 72. *ἡμι-πλίνθιον* 'a half brick,' because half as long as wide,



according to Stein ad Herod. 1. 50. ἡμι-ροήνιον 'a half sheep,' i. e., according to Dittenberger ad loc., a half-grown sheep. Insc. Delph. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 438. 198. ἡμι-σάκιον 'a half sack.' Poll. 10. 169. ἡμι-σίχλιον 'a half shekel.' Hes. ἡμι-σίχιον 'a half-line.' Iambl. V. P. 162. ἡμι-σφαίριον 'hemi-sphere.' Alex. frg. 3. 502 (1. 7); Plato Ax. 371 B. ἡμι-τέχνιον 'half an art,' i. e. a wretched art. AB. 651. ἡμι-τόνιον 'a half-tone.' Plut. 2. 1020 F. ἡμι-τύβιον 'towel,' according to Poll. 7. 21, an Aegyptian word. Sappho frg. 116. ἡμι-γάριον 'a half-robe.' Suid. ἡμι-γασώνιον 'a half γάσων,' a kind of garment. Ar. ap. Poll. 6. 161. ἡμι-χοινίκιον 'a half-χονίξ.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 587. 271. ἡμι-χόριον 'a half-chorus.' Poll. 4. 107. ἡμι-ωβόλιον, -βέλιον, -δέλιον, 'a half-obol.' Xen. An. 1. 5. 6; Insc. Delph. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 140. 18. ἡμι-ώριον 'a half-hour.' Men. ap. Poll. 1. 71; Strabo 133. τρι-ημιπλίνθιον<sup>1</sup> 'three half bricks.' Insc. in Müller Mun. Ath. p. 34. τρι-ημιτόνιον 'three half tones.' Plut. 2. 389 E. τρι-ημιωβόλιον 'three half-obols.' Ar. frg. 2. 963 (15).

54. How slight was the feeling of relationship between these substantive compounds of ἡμι- and the original adjectival force of their -ιον, is further seen from the fact that when a corresponding adjective was wanted, it was not made by simply treating the stem in -ιο- as an adjectival stem, but by the addition of the denominative suffix -αιος; so ἡμικοτυλιάς: ἡμικοτύλιον, ἡμιλιπριάς: ἡμιλίτριον, ἡμιρρομβιάς: ἡμιρρόμβιον, ἡμισταδιάς: ἡμιστάδιον, ἡμιτονιαῖος: ἡμιτόνιον, ἡμιωβελιάς: ἡμιωβέλιον. This method of forming adjectives was used so extensively that the conglutinate -αιος- was abstracted from them and used to form denominative adjectives from such compounds of ἡμι- as did not end in -ιον: ἡμιδραχμιαῖος: ἡμιδραχμον, ἡμισπιθαμιαῖος: ἡμισπίθαμος, ἡμιταλαντιαῖος: ἡμιτάλαντον. Cf. also τριωβολιαῖος: τριώβολον. In ἡμιμηνιαῖος -αιος- has taken upon itself the function of -ιο- in forming an adjective compound directly from its constituents ἡμι- and μῆν.

55. c) Compounds of ἀκρο-. The same resemblance to the meaning 'something like, but not equivalent to the primitive,' which caused so many -ιον compounds with ἡμι-, led to a corresponding productivity of the suffix in other compounds which designated a part of the simplex, particularly those beginning with ἀκρο-. In none of the following list except ἀκροθίνιον (cf. its adjectival use in Aesch. Eum. 834, ἀκροθίνια θύη . . . ἔχουσι) is there any trace of adjectival origin, and al-

<sup>1</sup> Words of this type do not owe their -ιον to the τρι-: τριημιπλίνθιον: ημιπλίνθιον = τριώβολον: ὀβολός.

most all are completely esocentric. ἀκρο-αξόνιον 'end of the axle.' Poll. 1. 145. ἀκρο-ζύγιον = ζεύγλη. id. 1. 253. ἀκρο-θίνιον 'the top of the heap,' i. e. best part, first fruits etc. Pind. N. 7. 41; Thuc. 1. 132. 2. ἀκρο-κόνιον 'top or capital of pillar.' Philo 2. 147. ἀκρο-κώλιον 'end of a limb,' 'extremity of body.' Pherecr. frg. 2. 300 (1. 14); Ar. frg. 2. 945; Stratt. frg. 2. 766 (2). ἀκρο-ομφάλιον 'top i. e. middle of navel.' Poll. 2. 169. ἀκρο-πόσθιον 'fore-skin.' id. 2. 171. ἀκρο-ροίνιον 'tip of the nose.' id. 2. 80. ἀκρο-ρούνιον 'fore end of pole.' id. 1. 146. ἀκρο-στήθιον '(top of) chest.' Arist. Physiogn. 6. 810 b 17. ἀκρο-σιόλιον 'gunwale of a ship.' Plut. Dem. 43. ἀκρο-στόμιον 'edge of the lips.' Dionys. H. De Comp. 164. ἀκρο-σφαίριον 'rounded tip of finger.' Ermerius Anec. Med. p. 15. ἀκρο-σφύριον (exocentric) a sort of woman's shoe. Poll. 7. 94. ἀκρο-τελεύτιον 'tip-end,' 'end of poem.' Thuc. 2. 17. 1. ἀκρο-γύσιον 'snout of a pair of bellows.' Soph. ap. AB. 373. 15; Hes. ἀκρώμιον 'tip of shoulder.' Arist. H. A. 8. 28. 606 a 16.

56. d) Other compounds designating a part of the simplex. ὀπισθο-κράνιον 'back part of skull.' Gloss. ὀπισθο-μήριον 'back of the thigh.' Melamp. palp. p. 493. μεσο-αίχμιον 'middle of spear.' Hes. μεσο-μήνιον 'midmonth.' Gloss. μεσο-κνήμιον 'middle of leg.' Strabo 734. Perhaps also the following: ὀρρο-πύγιον 'the ὀρρος part of the πύγη,' 'rump,' 'tail.' Ar. Nub. 158. κυκλ-ώπιον 'the circle part of the eye,' 'the white round.' Arist. H. A. 4. 8. 533 a 9.

57. Smaller excursive groups of words under B. (1) Articles of dress, ornament, armor, etc.: ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον, ἡμιθωράκιον, ἡμιτύβιον, ἡμιφάριον, ἡμιφασώνιον, ἀκροσφύριον. Cf. § 51. 1, 260 D, E. (2) Parts of the body: ἀκροκώλιον, ἀκρομφάλιον, ἀκροπόσθιον, ἀκροροίνιον, ἀκροστήθιον, ἀκροστόμιον, ἀκρώμιον, ὀρροπύγιον. Cf. § 51. 2, and the following compounds in μεσο- (§ 58) μεσεντέριον, μεσοκάρπιον, μεσομάζιον, μεσομήρια, μεσομφάλιον, μεσοπλεύρια, μεσοπτερύγια, μεσοπύγιον. (3) Weights and measures: ἡμιαμφόριον, ἡμιδακτύλιον, ἡμικάδιον, ἡμικόλλιον, ἡμικοτύλιον, ἡμιλίτριον, ἡμιούργιον, ἡμιπόδιον, ἡμισάκιον, ἡμισίχλιον, ἡμιφόρμιον, ἡμιχοινίκιον, ἡμιωβόλιον, τριημιωβόλιον. From these again those words which are derived from names of vessels, like ἡμιαμφόριον and ἡμικοτύλιον, form a special group which could be connected with the simple names of vessels in -ιον. Cf. § 260 C.

#### C. Miscellaneous Compounds.

58. A special group is composed of a large number of words beginning with μεσο-, which are of a heterogenous semantic character.



The few words which owe their *-ιον* to their designating a part of the simplex are mentioned § 56. A larger number is caused by the use of *μεσο-* in the same sense as the preposition *μετά* 'between,' and is thus a group of exocentric compounds. So *μεσ-αίχμιον* 'space between two armies' (cf. *μετ-αίχμιον*). Hes. *μεσ-εντέριον* 'mesentery.' Arist. H. A. 1. 16. 495 b 32. *μεσο-γονάτιον* = *μεσο-γόνιον* 'the space between two knots or joints.' Theophr. H. P. 4. 11. 6. *μεσο-μάστιον* 'space between the breasts.' Diocl. ap. Orib. 109 ed. Mai. *μεσο-μήρια* 'space between the thighs.' Poll. 2. 188. *μεσο-πλείρια* 'the part between the ribs,' cf. *μεσοπλεύριος*. id. 2. 167. *μεσο-πίγιον* 'the part between the buttocks.' Schol. Ar. Plut. 122. *μεσο-πίργιον* 'space between two towers,' cf. *μετα-πίργιον*. Polyb. 9. 41. 1. *μεσο-γλέβιον* 'space between two veins.' Gloss. The remaining compounds of *μεσο-* owe their *-ιον* to the analogy of the other groups; it became the habit to attach the suffix to any compound beginning with *μεσο-* regardless of meaning. In the following list the first member designates simply that the second is in the middle of something, thus *μεσ-ομφάλιον* (Poll. 2. 169) is 'the navel that is in the middle' of the body, *μεσο-γαράγγιον* (Gloss.) is 'the ravine that is in the middle' between two hills, etc. All of this group is thus esocentric. Other examples are *μεσ-αύλιον* 'a piece of flute music played in the interval' of the choric song. Eust. 862. 19. *μεσο-κύνιον* 'pastern of a horse.' Hippiatr. *μεσο-κάριον* 'wrist.' Diosc. *μεσο-πτερόγρια* 'the middle wing-feathers.' Ael. N. A. 7. 17. *μεσ-ούριον* 'boundary.' Dion. P. 17.

58. Of other types of compounds in *-ιον* only a very few examples need be mentioned. The final member has verbal force in *ήλιο-σκόπιον*, a plant name: *ήλιοσκόπιος* 'looking to the sun.' Arist. De Plant. 1. 4. 819 b 21. *παγ-κράτιον* (sc. *ζῆλον*) 'a contest for victory in everything,' i. e. a combination of wrestling and boxing. Xenophan. 2. 5; Herod. 9. 105. The first member has verbal force in *καψ-ιδρώτιον* 'that which receives the perspiration,' 'sudarium.' Com. ap. Poll. 7. 71. *τροσ-ίππιον* (: *τρούω*) 'a mark burned upon a horse superannuated in the public service.' Eupol. frg. 2. 555 (17). The first member is an adjective modifying the final member in the esocentric compounds *λιο-πέτριον* *λίθος* *λεῖος* (Hes.) and *κενο-τάφιον* 'an empty tomb,' 'cenotaph.' Xen. An. 6. 4. 9.

### VIII. *-ιον* AS A SUFFIX OF APPURTENANCE.

59. Whatever the original meaning of the *-(i)io-* suffix, and whatever its origin, its sphere was extremely large and perplexing already in I. E. times. By abstracting, however, the term of description 'belonging to' or 'connected with' for a large group of uses which are closely related, a convenient starting point for a system of arranging the different meanings presents itself, but it does not follow that this is to be regarded as the real "Grundbedeutung." For, on the one hand, a very narrow concrete meaning still in existence may have given rise to this general meaning; on the other hand, it is highly probable that the suffix itself is of composite origin, and partly a mere conglutination of the *-i-* of *i* stems and the adjective forming *-o-*, in which case there never was a homogeneous sphere of meaning, and any concrete usage may have been adapted from the vague adjectival function of the suffix. Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 187; for the Sanskrit, Whitney, Skr. Gr<sup>3</sup>. 1210 a.

60. The meaning 'belonging to,' 'connected with,' is seen in such adjectives as Skr. *sénia-s* Av. *haēnya-* 'belonging to the army,' Gr. *ποιμένιος* 'belonging to the herdsman,' Lat. *uxorius* 'belonging to the wife,' O. H. G. *edeli*: *adal*, 'belonging to the nobility,' O. Blg. *člověč*: *člověk*, 'belonging to man,' 'human' (cf. § 108). The Greek substantivized neuters of these are of great number and variety, differing according to the manner of substantivation, the nature of the primitive, and the character of the congeneric words which have been influential in their formation. According to this latter point of view they largely fall into a number of definite groups, according to which they will be classified.

#### 1. PLACE NAMES.

61. Since the idea of the place connected can also develop from original action nouns (§ 34 D), it is sometimes doubtful how a given word originated. So *συναγωγίον* (§ 35) might have come directly from the abstract noun *συναγωγή* as 'that connected with the assembling,' *γεώργιον* 'field' may as well have developed from the action noun *γεώργιον* as have been 'that which belongs to the husbandman (*γεωργός*),' etc.

Place names in *-ιον* can be subdivided into several groups of more closely related words.

62. A. The primitive is an action noun. *έδώλιον*: a lost ab-



stract \*ἔδωλη, 'that which is connected with the sitting,' 'seat,' 'abode.' Aesch. Choeph. 71; Soph. El. 1393; 'rowers' seats' or designates a part of the deck in Soph. Aj. 1277; 'socket of the mast' in Arist. Mech. 6. 851 a 40. *καταγώγιον*: καταγωγή, 'that which is connected with the turning in,' 'an inn.' Thuc. 3. 68. 3; Plato Phaedr. 259 A. *κλίσιον*: κλίσις, 'that which is used for sleeping,' 'a place for sleeping,' especially for servants (ω 208), whence in Attic the idea 'wretched hut,' as Lys. 12. 18.<sup>1</sup> *ὀπτάνιον* 'kitchen': ὀπτάνον 'roasting' (neuter of ὀπτάνος), cf. § 41. Ar. Pax 891, Equ. 1033; CIA. 2 add. 834 b 2. 53 (329 B. C.). *στεφανηπλόκιον*: στεφανηπλόκον, 'that which is connected with the plaiting of wreaths,' the place where wreaths are plaited. Anth. P. 12. 8.

63. B. *The primitive is an agent noun*, the place being represented as connected with the person. Of this type there are quite a number of examples in spite of the encroachment of -ειον (§ 16). The original distribution is still seen by comparing *πισύγγιον*: πίσυγγος, *ταριχοπώλιον*: ταριχοπώλης, with *κουρεῖον*: κουρεύς, *χαλκεῖον*: χαλκεύς, *κναφεῖον* Ionic *κναφήϊον*: κναφεύς. It is true that forms in -ειον often occur beside those in -ιον where the latter is phonetically justifiable, e. g. *μυροπωλεῖον* beside *μυροπώλιον*: *μυροπώλης*, or *ταριχοπωλεῖον* beside *ταριχοπώλιον*; but this must not lead us to assume that -ειον is a mere corruption of -ειον. This is altogether excluded because those words which have -ειον are on the whole those in which it is phonetically justified, and because indisputable inscriptional evidence supports it in this use, so e. g. already in the beginning in the fourth century B. C., *ταριχοπώλιον* CIA. 2. 821. 14, also *ἰχθυοπώλιον* CIG. 2058 B 4, *μαρτύριον* ib. 8616, *παστοφόριον* Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 559. 5. Where -ειον occurs in place of expected -ιον it is due to later encroachment. Subsequently it became productive in all classes of place names, and we find *Μουσέϊον* 'haunt of the Muses': Μοῦσα, and even *ῥηδεῖον*: the action noun ῥηδῆ, *λογεῖον* 'speaking-place': λόγος.

In giving the examples I begin with those derived from compounds of -πώλης, but otherwise the list is alphabetical. *ἀλοπώλιον* 'salt works': ἀλοπώλης 'dealer in salt.' Pap. Ber. 9. 1. 14, 4. 17. *ἀρτοποιίον* 'bakery': ἀρτοποιής 'baker.' Ar. Ran. 112, frg. 2. 946. *ἐφθροπώλιον* 'a place where cooked meat is sold,' either from a lost \*ἐφθροπώλης or analogically formed directly from its constituents. Posidipp. ap. Athen. 94 C. *ἰχθυοπώλιον* 'fish market': ἰχθυοπώλης 'fish monger.' Insc. Sarmat. (see above). *μυροπώλιον* 'perfumer's

<sup>1</sup> Here accented *κλίσιον*.

shop': *μυροπώλης* 'perfume seller.' Lys. 24. 20; Dem. 25. 52. *ταριχοπώλιον* 'salt fish market': *ταριχοπώλης* 'salt fish dealer.' Insc. Att. (see above). *ἀλοπήγιον* 'salt works': ἀλοπηγός 'one who prepares salt.' Strabo 312. *ἀστυνόμιον* 'court of the ἀστυνόμοι.' Plato Legg. 918 A. *γεώργιον* 'field': γεωργός 'husbandman.' Theag. ap. Schol. Pind. N. 3. 21. *ἐμπορίον* 'trading-place': ἔμπορος 'merchant.' Herod. 1. 165; Thuc. 7. 50. 2. At Athens τὸ ἐμπορίον was the merchants' exchange, so Dem. 35. 1. *μαρτίριον*: μάρτυρ, 'the place in which a martyr's relics are preserved,' 'a martyr's shrine.' CIG. 8616. *νεώλκιον* 'dry-dock': νεωλκός 'ship hauler.' Hes., νεῶνας· νεῶν ὄκλους, νεώλκια. *νεώριον* 'place where ships are taken care of': νεωρός 'he who takes care of the ships,' 'superintendent of the dock-yards.' Thuc. 2. 93. 2. *παστοφίριον* 'residence of the παστοφόροι.' Insc. Delos (see above). *πισύγγιον* 'shoe-maker's shop': πίσυγγος 'shoe-maker.' Poll. 7. 82. *τελώνιον* 'toll-house': τελώνης 'tax-gatherer.' Posidipp. frg. 4. 517. *φρούριον* 'watch-post,' 'citadel':<sup>1</sup> φρουρός 'watcher,' 'guard.' Thuc. 7. 28. 1; Lys. 12. 40. *φρονκτώριον* 'light-house,' 'beacon tower': φρονκτωρός 'fire-watcher.' Plut. Pomp. 24.

64. A special group of place names is formed from agent nouns in -της, so e. g. *ἀμιλλητήριον*: τῶπος ἐν ᾧ ἀμιλλῶνται (Suid.) from ἀμιλλητήριος: ἀμιλλητήρ 'competitor in a race.' *δικαστήριον* 'court':<sup>1</sup> δικαστής 'judge,' 'jurymen.' Herod. 6. 72; Ar. Equ. 1317. *ἐργαστήριον* 'work-shop': ἐργαστής 'workman.' Herod. 4. 14; Lys. 12. 8. Since agent nouns in -της sometimes existed beside those in -της, e. g. *δικαστής* beside *δικαστήρ*, the place names in -τήριον could be referred to the former, whence new formations like *ἀκροατήριον* 'auditorium':<sup>1</sup> ἀκροατής 'hearer' (Plut. 2. 45 F), *φροντιστήριον* 'thinking-shop': φροντιστής 'thinker' (Ar. Nub. 94).

65. C. *The primitive is a name of an animal or thing*. *ἀλεκτόριον* perhaps 'poultry-shop': ἀλέκτωρ 'cock.' Insc. Cibra BCH. 2. 610. *αὔλιον* 'that which belongs to the αὐλή or farm-yard,' 'a country house,' 'stable,' etc. H. Hom. Merc. 102, 106, 134; Theocr. 25. 87. *χειμάδιον*: χειμάς, 'that which is suitable for winter,' 'winter quarters.' Dem. 4. 32.

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the idea of persons connected develops as an accessory notion and may become dominant over the place idea (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 621). So *φρούριον*, Aesch. Eum. 949, *ἡ τὰδ' ἀκούετε, πόλιος φρούριον* . . .; Thuc. 2. 93. 4. *ἀκροατήριον* designates the audience Plut. Cat. Maj. 22, *δικαστήριον* is used with the accessory notion of the assembled jurymen Ar. Vesp. 624, *ὧτιον βροντῆ τὸ δικαστήριον*.



66. D. *Geographical names.* Why an extensive study of geographical names in -ιον is of no purpose here, has been shown § 6. There is furthermore uncertainty as to how far the Greek is influenced by foreign models. Thus there are in Phrygian a number of words like Δοκίμιον 'city of Δόκιμος,' for which cf. Kretschmer, Einl. 183. Nevertheless the derivation of new geographical names in -ιον from historical Greek words shows that the meaning 'belonging to' played a part in native Greek derivation also. So Δημήτριον was 'the city of Δημήτηρ' (cf. Pape, Lex. Gr. Eig. s. v. 4), Ποσειδώνιον (in Macedonia) was 'the promontory of Ποσειδών' (Thuc. 4. 129. 3), Ἀλεξάνδριον sc. χωρίον (cf. Pape, op. cit. s. v.) was 'the citadel of Ἀλέξανδρος.' Probably a great many words of this kind either arose by ellipsis or followed others which arose by ellipsis. Thus the town of Ἀρτεμίσιον is named after the sanctuary of Artemis, which in turn goes back to τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἱερόν (§ 67).

67. E. *Sanctuaries of gods and heroes*, a special case of the preceding, which in the beginning arose by ellipsis of words like ἱερόν or ἄλσος, of which we still have a remainder in the use of the phrase τὸ (τῆς) Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν (Pape, op. cit. sub Ἀρτεμίσιον) instead of τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, or Καρνάσιον ἄλσος (Paus. 4. 33. 4), a grove with a statue of Ἀπόλλων Καρνείος. However, the great number of such formations without trace of a substantive modified shows that usually an ellipsis was no longer felt, and the substantivized adjective was sufficient both for the idea 'belonging to' and that of the temple or sanctuary. Of the large number of these words I may mention: τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον: Ἀπόλλων, Insc. Epidaur. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 452. 31; τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον: Ἀρτεμῖς, Herod. 4. 34; τὸ Δημήτριον: Δημήτηρ, id. 9. 101. τὸ Διονύσιον: Διονύσιος, Plato Gorg. 472 A; τὸ Ποσειδώνιον: Ποσειδών, Thuc. 4. 118. 4.

68. Analogically to these words, adjectives in -ιος derived from place names and designating a god or hero as connected with the place, could give rise to substantivized neuters designating his sanctuary. The -ιον, then, changed its character under the influence of the type Ἀπολλώνιον. So τὸ Δελφίνιον, 'the temple of Ἀπόλλων Δελφίνιος' at Athens, Dem. 23. 74; τὸ Ἀθήνιον, 'temple of Ἀπόλλων Ἀθήνιος,'<sup>1</sup> Arist. ap. Plut. 2. 254 F; τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον: Ἐλευσίνιος, 'the temple of the Eleusinian goddess'<sup>2</sup> i. e. of Δημήτηρ. Thuc. 2. 17. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Also designates towns where such temples are located, e. g. in Boeotia, Strabo 403.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps rather derived from an old name of Δημήτηρ.

## 2. WORDS DESIGNATING GAMES, FESTIVALS, RITES etc.

69. This widely productive type probably originated with the ellipsis of a word like ἱερά 'rites.' Only a few examples of the different groups will be given.

A. *The primitive is an action noun.* τὰ ἀναγώγια 'festival of the departure' of Aphrodite at Eryx: ἀναγωγή 'departure.' Ael. V. H. 1. 15. τὰ καταγώγια 'festival of the return' etc.: καταγωγή 'return.' Athen. 394 F. τὰ θεογάμια: γάμος, 'festival of the divine marriage.' Poll. 1. 37.

B. *The primitive is the name of a god or hero, or person otherwise connected.* τὰ ἀνθεσφόρια, the festival in honor of Κόρη, who was carried off gathering flowers (ἀνθεσφόρος). Poll. 1. 37. τὰ Ἀρτεμίσια 'the festival of Ἀρτεμῖς.' id. 1. c. τὰ Δημήτρια 'the festival of Δημήτηρ.' id. 1. c. τὰ Διονύσια 'the festival of Διόνυσος.' Aeschin. 2. 61. τὰ Ἐκατήσια 'the festival of Ἐκάτη.' Poll. 1. c. τὰ θεσμογόρια 'the festival of Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος.' id. 1. c. τὰ Κρόνια 'the festival of Κρόνος.' id. 1. c. τὰ μυστήρια 'secret rites' as if: \*μυστήρ (cf. μυστής) 'one initiated.' Herod. 2. 51; Ar. Ran. 887.

C. *The primitive is a geographical name.* In this case there usually is an intermediate adjective in -ιος which designates a god as connected with the place, e. g. Δήλιος applied to Apollo as being particularly connected with Delos. That however the interpretation e. g. of τὰ Δήλια (Xen. Mem. 4. 8. 2) was not 'the festival of the Delian god,' but 'the festival at Delos' is shown by the fact that the locality of the festival is always the place designated by the primitive: τὰ Δήλια is not the festival of Apollo at any place, but only at Delos, τὰ Ἐλευσίνια (Schol. Pind. Ol. 9. 150) is only the festival at Eleusis. So also τὰ Ἰσθμια (Ar. Pax 879) 'the festival at the Isthmus,' τὰ Ὀλύμπια 'the festival at Olympia' (Herod. 6. 36).

## 3. WORDS DESIGNATING FEES, FINES, REWARDS, OR PRIZES.

70. In most cases the primitive is an action noun: διαγώνιον is 'that which is connected with transit (διαγωγή),' κοττάβιον is 'that which is connected with the κότταβος game,' i. e. its prize. It may, however, also be an agent noun, as in case of μετοίκιον 'metics tax': μέτοικος 'metic,' θρεπτήρια 'rewards to the rearer': θρεπτήρ. How far ellipsis of words like τέλος or γέρας is at the basis of this group, is impossible to decide, perhaps all of the pattern types arose in this



way. The resulting congeneric group was no doubt associated with certain compounds in *-ιον* which were formed directly from their constituents e. g. *διὰ-πύλιον* (§ 50 b) 'toll for passing through the gates,' *ἐλ-λιμένιον* 'toll for going into the harbor,' 'harbor dues.' By attraction to words of either or both of these classes arose *τόκιον* 'interest,' having the same meaning as its primitive *τόκος*.

A. *Fees and fines.* *ἀμύνιον* 'fee for delay,' as if: \**ἀμυονή* 'delay,' cf. *ἀναμυονή* (Hes.). Insc. Delph. CB. 2561 A 50, 54. *διαγώνιον*: *διαγωγή*, 'a transit duty.' Polyb. 4. 52. 5. *εἰσαγώνιον* 'toll for entrance.' Insc. Cos Ditt<sup>1</sup>. 734. 52. *εἰσῆλυσιον*: *εἰσήλυσις*, 'toll for entrance.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 737. 37; Hes., *εἰσῆλυσιον*: *τήμημα εἰσόδου*. *τέλος*. *μετοίκιον*: *μέτοικος*, 'metic's tax.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 118. 53 (4th cent. B. C.). *μοιχάριον*: *ἄγρξ*, 'a fine for being caught in adultery.' *Δ* 332. *παράγώνιον*: *παραγωγή*, 'toll for passing.' Polyb. 4. 47. 3; Poll. 9. 30. *τόκιον* = *τόκος*, 'interest' (see above). Insc. Delph. CB. 2561 A 57.

B. *Rewards and prizes.* *ἀέθλιον* 'that which belongs to the *ἀεθλος*,' 'a prize.' I 124, 266; X 160; Ψ 537, 823. *ἀνδράριον*: *ἄγρξ*, 'the spoils from the slaying of an enemy.' *Ξ* 509. *ἀρεσμιον* as if: \**ἀρεσμός* (cf. *δασμός*, *σχισμός*, etc.), a certain 'gift of honor to the priest.' Insc. Phoc. CB. 1539 a 25. *εὐαγγέλιον*: *εὐάγγελος* 'reward for (the bringer of) good news.' *ξ* 152; Ar. Equ. 656. *ζωάριον*: *ἄγρξ* (cf. *ἀνδράριον*), 'reward for life saved.' *Δ* 462; *Σ* 407 (here close to *θρεπτήριον* in meaning). *θρεπτήριον*: *θρεπτήρ*, 'rewards to the rearer,' either to the nurses by the parents or to the parents by the children. H. Hom. Cer. 223; Hes. Op. 188. *κοιτιάβιον* 'prize of the *κότταβος* game.' Arist. Rhet. 1. 12. 1373 a 23; Callipp. frg. 4. 561; Com. An. frg. 4. 623 (75). *νικητήριον*: *νικητήρ*, 'a prize to the victor.' Eur. Alc. 1028; Antiphan. frg. 3. 29.

#### 4. INSTRUMENT NOUNS.

71. Besides those instrument nouns in *-ιον* which were originally action nouns, the relation of which to the class here described have been set forth § 34 F, the earliest stratum is composed of those words in which the suffix originally denoted the instrument as belonging to, connected with, or used for a certain action, so e. g. *ὕδραγώνιον*: *ὕδραγωγή*, 'that which is connected with the bringing of water,' i. e. 'an aqueduct'; *γραφίον*: *γραφή*, 'that which is used for writing,' i. e. 'a pencil'; *λούτριον*: *λουτρόν*, 'that which is used for

bathing,' i. e. 'bath-water.' The early age of this class is attested not only by the fact that at least one of these words, viz. *ἀέθλιον*, is already Homeric, but also by the comparatively large number without extant primitive, e. g. *ἀρδάνιον*, *ἱμάτιον*, *παίγνιον*, *πηδάλιον*, *σκηπάνιον*.

72. In a few cases the idea of instrumentality is derived from a primitive that is an agent noun, as in *θελκτήριον*: *θελκτήρ*, 'that which belongs to the charmer,' 'a means of charming.' Oftener, when an instrument noun is derived from a primitive in *-τηρ*, the latter is only formally an agent noun, but semantically an instrument noun; for agent suffixes are often applied to inanimate objects by vividly conceiving them as the actor. So *ποτήρ* is literally 'drinker,' but applied to that with which one drinks, i. e. designates a cup. When *-ιον* is added to this word the real meaning is not changed: *ποτήριον* has gotten its suffix merely by congeneric attraction of other instrument nouns in which it did have a modifying influence.

73. Through the same kind of analogy instrument nouns ending in any suffix could be extended by *-ιον* without change of meaning: *κλειδίον* 'key' = *κλείς*, *μοχλίον* 'lever' = *μοχλός*, *ὑπήτιον* 'awl' = *ὄπας*.

74. It is questionable how far *-ιον* acted or was felt as a primary instrumental suffix. It was, of course, easy at any time to refer a derivative from a verbal abstract to the verb itself, but in case of *-ιον* there are almost no certain indications that this was really done; for we are in only one case obliged to assume that it formed an instrument noun directly from a verb-stem, namely *ζάνιον* 'a comb': *ζάνω* 'I comb,' in Hes. It is, however, possible that *ἀμολγίον* 'milk-ing-pail' is also verbal; for the abstract *ἀμολγή*, which might be its primitive, occurs only in the mediæval Eumathius, and so there is no great probability of its existence in Alexandrian times. The conglutinate *-τηριον*, on the other hand, abstracted from words like *ποτήριον* which could be referred directly to *ἐ-πό-θην* (aorist of *πίνω*) instead of to *ποτήρ*, appears as primary suffix already in Herodotus in the word *περιρραντήριον* 'instrument for sprinkling': *περιρραίνω*. Such formations were probably more frequent than would appear at first sight; for in some cases where *-τηριον* and *-τηρ* exist alongside of each other, the fact that the latter forms occur only in late writers would point to the probability that they were partly due to retrograde derivation from the former, to which the *-τηριον* would then have been added as a primary suffix. So *σημαντήρ* does not occur until Apollonius of Rhodes, while *σημαντήριον* is found in Aeschylus; *θυμιατήριον*



is the usual form from Herodotus on, while θυματήρ occurs only in late ecclesiastical writers.

75. As in case of place names (§ 63) -ειον encroached upon -ιον in instrument nouns. σκαφεῖον 'a digging-tool,' while derived from σκαφεύς 'a digger,' could be connected with the abstract σκαφή 'digging.' From such words -ειον was extended to cases like λουβεῖον 'libation cup': λουβή, instead of the expected \*λουβίον.<sup>1</sup>

76. A. *The primitive is an action noun.* ἀέθλιον: ἀεθλος, 'that which is connected with the contest,' 'instrument of contest.' φ 62, 117; ω 169. ἀμύλγιον: ἀμολγή(?), 'milking-pail.' Theocr. 25. 106. ἀρδάνιον: \*ἄρδανον (cf. ἄρδω, and for form σκηπάνιον), 'that which is used for watering,' 'watering-pot.' Poll. 8. 66. γραγίον: γραφή, 'that which is used for scratching or writing,' 'a pencil.' Hipp. 261. δέσμιον: δεσμός, 'that which is used for binding,' 'fettters.' Anth. P. 9. 479. ἰθάμιον 'sieve': \*ἰθάνον 'sieving,' 'that with which one sieves.' Hellan. ap. Athen. 470 D. ἰμάτιον: \*ἱμα, 'that which is used for winding about,' or 'for surrounding.'<sup>2</sup> The general meaning 'clothes' occurs Herod. 1. 9; Dem. 27. 10. 'Pieces of cloth' in Herod. 4. 23. Usually specialized into the meaning 'an outer garment' or 'cloak' worn above the χιτῶν: Hippon. 83; Herod. 2. 47; Xen. Hell. 1. 7. 8; the form εἰμάτιον in Insc. Cos Roehl IA. 395. 2 (5th cent. B. C.); Insc. Andania Mich. 694. 16 (91 B. C.). λούτριον 'bath-water': λουτρόν 'bath.' Ar. Equ. 1401, frg. 2. 1071. παίγιον perhaps from an abstract noun \*παίγη, 'that which is used for play,' 'a plaything.' Ar. Eccl. 922; Plato Legg. 796 B, 803 C. προσαγώγιον: προσαγωγή, a tool used by carpenters for straightening wood. Plato Phileb. 56 C. σινίον 'sieve' as if: \*σινή 'sieving.' Hes., σινίον· κέσκινον. ὕδραγώγιον: ὕδραγωγή, that which is used for the bringing of water, 'an aqueduct.' Insc. Lesb. CB. 259. ὕλιστριον: \*ὕλιστρον,<sup>3</sup> 'that which is used for straining,' 'a strainer.' Schol. Nic. Al. 493.

<sup>1</sup> That -ειον in this use is always a corruption of -ειον is a proposition as incapable of proof as for the place names. Cf. § 63.

<sup>2</sup> ἰμάτιον cannot come from εἶμα, which was \*Fέσ-μα, but is related to Lith. výtiti 'to wind about.' From this root \*uīs an abstract \*Fίσμα > \*ἱμα was formed, which gave rise to the Attic ἰμάτιον. The dialectic εἰμάτιον may, of course, have come from εἶμα or have been influenced by it, but for the Attic the spelling without -ε- is uniform in inscriptions. Cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 53, Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v., and references there given.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the primitive ὕλιστρον was itself an instrument noun, so that ὕλιστριον belongs to C.

γερονίον: φερνή,<sup>1</sup> 'that which is used for carrying,' 'a fish-basket.' Men. ap. Eustath. 742. 59.

77. B. *The primitive, formally considered, is an agent noun in -τήρ.* A comparatively large part of these are names of vessels (cf. § 129), which are particularly often, though for the most part mistakenly, classed as diminutives. In case of κρατήριον and ψυκτήριον this interpretation is possible, while it is improbable for περιρραντήριον, which seems to be a primary formation (§ 74), and impossible for ποτήριον, which is the generic name for all kinds of drinking cups, and for θυματήριον and λουτήριον, because modified by μέγας and μέγιστος in the passages quoted below. Examples (with context when it has bearing on the question of diminutive usage): θυμιατήριον: θυματήρ, 'vessel for burning incense,' 'censer'. Herod. 4. 162; CIA. 2. 678 B 31 (378-366 B. C.), θυματήρ[ι]ον μέγας ἕτερον θυ[μ]ιατήριον μικρόν. κρατήριον: κρατήρ, 'mixing-bowl,' 'mixer.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 122 f. (279 B. C.), κρατήριον τυρρηνικόν οὗς οὐκ ἔχων· κρατήριον λακωνικόν τὸν πυθμένα ἔχον ἀπο(πε)πτωκότα. κρατῆρες λακωνικοὶ τρεῖς. λουτήριον: λουτήρ, 'bathing tub,' sometimes a kind of cup. Aesch. frg. 366, ἐκ μεγίστων εὐμαρῶς λουτηρίων. Anaxil. frg. 3. 346 (4); Antiphan. frg. 3. 120 (2); Epigenes frg. 3. 539; CIA. 2. 678 B 36. περιρραντήριον: περιρράνω, 'utensil for besprinkling.' Herod. 1. 51. ποτήριον: ποτήρ, 'drinking-cup.' Alcaeus 52; Sappho 67; Herod. 2. 37; Ar. Equ. 120. ψυκτήριον: ψυκτήρ, 'vessel for cooling,' 'cooler.' Nicostr. frg. 3. 282, Λοιπή τις ὅξλις ἐστὶ καὶ ψυκτήριον τῆς εὐπαρόρου λεπτότερον. CIA. 2 add. 682 c 14 (ab. 356 B. C.), ψυκτήριον μικρόν οὐχ ὀγιές. Other instrument nouns in -τήριον which are not names of vessels are: ζευκτήριον: ζευκτήρ, ζευκτήριος, 'yoke.' Aesch. Ag. 529. θελκτήριον: θελκτήρ, θελκτήριος, 'that which belongs to the soother,' his means of soothing. Ξ 215; α 337. καλυπτήριον: καλυπτήρ, 'covering.' Gloss. κλιντήριον: κλιντήρ, 'couch.' Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 33. κλυστήριον: κλυστήρ, 'clyster-pipe,' 'syringe.' Zonar. Lex. 1220. κνηστήριον: κνηστήρ, 'scraping-knife.' Gloss. πιεστήριον: πιεστήρ, 'a press.' Synesius 201 C. σημαντήριον: σημαντήρ, 'seal.' Aesch. Ag. 609. ὕλιστριον: ὕλιστήρ, 'strainer.' Schol. Nic. Al. 493. φυστήριον: φυστήρ, 'pipe,' 'blow-hole.' Ar. Lys. 1242.

78. C. *The primitive is itself an instrument noun not ending in -τήρ.* In this case, as in the preceding, it is sometimes hard to decide whether the -ιον form of such a pair of instrument nouns is

<sup>1</sup> The historical meaning of the primitive, viz. 'wife's dowry' etc., points to an original abstract meaning. Cf. § 34 C.



a diminutive. Such are certainly *τερέτριον* 'a little gimlet': *τέρετρον*, and *σφυρίον* 'a little hammer': *σφύρα*, in Theophr. H. P. 5. 7. 8, as is shown by the contrast with the large hammers: *οἷον σφυρίον μὲν καὶ τερέτριον ἄριστα μὲν γίνεσθαι κοτίνου* . . . *τὰς δὲ μεγάλας σφύρας πιτυνάς ποιοῦσιν*. In the majority of instances, however, primitive and -ιον form do not seem to differ in meaning, as can be seen from the passages quoted. *δελήτριον* = *δέλετρον* 'means of baiting.' Soph. or Sophron ap. Etym. Mag. 254. 52. *δρεπανίον* = *δρεπάνη* 'scythe' (cf. *δρέπω*). Seleucus ap. Athen. 155 E. *κανόνιον* = *κανών* 'ruler.' Sex. Emp. M. 10. 149, 153. *κλειδίον* = *κλείς* 'key.' Arist. Mirab. 32. 832 b 23 (of an ordinary house-key, and so not diminutive); CIA. 2. 766. 27 (341 B.C.). *λαμπάδιον* = *λαμπάς* 'torch' in Plato Resp. 328 A. *λεισιγρίον*: \**λεῖστρον* = *λίστρον* 'a mason's tool for smoothing.'<sup>1</sup> Insc. Lebadea Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 540. 119. *μοχλίον* = *μόχλος* 'lever.' Com. ap. Poll. 10. 147. *ὀπήτριον* = *ὀπας* 'awl.' Nicochares ap. Poll. 10. 141. *ὀρύγιον* = *ὄρυξ*, 'spade.' Hes., *σκαπάνη*· *σκαφε(ῖ)ον*, *ὀρύγιον*, *δίκελ(λ)α*, *πλήτριον*<sup>2</sup> = *πλήτρον* 'rudder.' Cramer Anec. Ox. 1. 343. 11, καὶ *πλήτρον* τὸ *πηδάλιον*, καὶ ὑποκοριστικῶς εἶπεν Ἀλκμᾶν *πλήθριον*, *σκηπάνιον*<sup>3</sup> = *σκηπάνη*, 'staff.' N 59; Ω 247. *σκυτάλιον* = *σκυτάλη*, 'cudgel,' probably influenced by *σκηπάνιον*, for it can not itself have been associated with any verb. Theophr. H. P. 4. 4. 12, ἄκανθα λευκὴ τρίοζος, ἐξ ἧς καὶ *σκυτάλη* καὶ *βακτηρίς* ποιοῦσιν (its coördination with the non-diminutive *βακτηρίς* here precludes a diminutive notion).

79. A smaller excursive group of late instrument nouns is composed of names of surgeons' tools. These were partly patterned after the instrument nouns of § 71 ff., partly after *μαχαίριον* 'a surgeon's knife,' which although it probably got its -ιον in a different way (§ 150), would naturally exert a strong influence as being the oldest and most frequent of the names of these tools to end in -ιον. A list of surgical instruments is given in Cod. Laur. 74. 2 (11 th

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dittenberger ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Both *πλήθριον* and *πλήτρον* in the passage quoted can not be right, and so I assume *πλήτριον* to be the correct form. The fact that Alcman is mentioned in connection with these words makes Doric origin probable, and so *πλήτριον* could come from \**πλέφε-τρον*: *πλέω*, and was conceived as 'that with which one sails.'

<sup>3</sup> The primitive *σκηπάνη* occurs only AB. 794 in the meaning 'staff.' The classification of *σκηπάνιον* as a diminutive is erroneous; for it occurs only N 59 and Ω 247, in the latter passage applied to Priam's scepter, in the former to Poseidon's trident, for which the designation 'little staff' would be burlesque, not epic poetry.

cent.), which is compared by H. Schoene, Hermes 38. 280 ff., with a similar Latin list (Parisianus 11219) of the ninth century. In these, according to Schoene's reconstruction of the original Greek names, there occur the following words in -ιον: *ἀρίδιον*, *ἐπικόπιον*, *ἐπικρούστιον*, *μαχαίριον*, *ναρθήκιον*, *ῥινοτορίνιον*, *ῥινοσπάδιον*, *σκηνορράφιον*, *τροπάνιον*, *ψαλίδιον*. In some cases one list gives an -ιον form and the other the primitive: thus *ἀρίδιον* occurs beside *ἀρίς*, *ῥινοτορίνιον* beside *ῥινοτορίνη*, *τροπάνιον* beside *τρόπανον*, *ψαλίδιον* beside *ψαλίς*. In case of *ναρθήκιον* the primitive occurs in neither list, though used elsewhere. In no case, however, does one list give both forms, and this vouches for the fact that there was no difference in meaning between them, as does also the mention of words which occur only in the -ιον forms, namely, *ῥινοσπάδιον* and *ἐπικρούστιον*, unless these were influenced by the use of -ιον in compounds.

#### 5. NAMES OF VESSELS AND UTENSILS THAT ARE NOT INSTRUMENT NOUNS.

80. These really form one congeneric group with words like *ἀμόλγιον* (§ 76), *ποτήριον* (§ 77) and various other groups of words designating vessels (§ 260 C). *ἄμνιον*: Lat. *sanguis*,<sup>1</sup> 'vessel for holding the blood,' i. e. in which the blood of the sacrificial victim was caught. γ 444. Designates the membrane around the foetus Empedocles ap. Poll. 2. 223 (accented *ἄμνιον*). *ἀνθράκιον* 'coal-pan': *ἄνθραξ* 'charcoal.' Alex. frg. 3. 443. *ἐσχάριον*: *ἐσχάρα*, *ἐσχάριος*, 'that which belongs to the hearth,' 'a pan of coals.' Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 101. *λυχνίον*: *λύχνος*, 'that which belongs to the lamp,' 'lamp-holder.'<sup>2</sup> Antiphan. frg. 3. 29. Cf. *ὀβελισκο-λύχνιον* 'a spit used as lamp-holder,' Theopomp. Com. frg. 2. 794. *ὄγκιον* 'casket for arrows or other implements' (φ 61), if: *ὄγκος* 'barb of an arrow,' belongs here, but it may be derived from *ἐνεγκεῖν*.<sup>4</sup> *γαγύλιον*· *μαρσίπιον* (Photius) seems to be derived from a \**φαγυλά* 'eatables,' and was 'that which belongs to or contains the eatables.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schulze, KZ. 29. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Oftener *λυχνεῖον* in the same sense. Cf. § 63 and note to § 75.

<sup>3</sup> When *λυχνίον* designates the whole lamp it is probably a case of using the part for the whole. So Theocr. 21. 36; Luc. Symp. 46; Insc. Arcad. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 939. 16. That it should be a diminutive of *λύχνος* is clearly unsupported by the passages.

<sup>4</sup> See Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> sub *ὄγκος* II.



## 6. WORDS DESIGNATING ORNAMENTS.

81. The formation of names of ornaments from words which designate the part of the body upon which they are worn by means of a suffix of appurtenance is known in various I. E. languages. Thus -īno- occurs in O. H. G. fingerī 'that which belongs to the finger,' 'finger ring,' -(i)io- in Skr. angulīya-m,<sup>1</sup> also 'ring': angulī 'finger,' a word exactly parallel to the Gr. masculine δακτύλιος: δάκτυλος. Somewhat similar are words like O. H. G. armilo 'sleeve,' 'that which belongs to the arm.' The Gr. masculine in -ιος and the Skr. word in -ya- are sufficient proof that such forms originate in a different way than from faded diminutives; for Skr. -ya- in appellatives and Gr. -ιος in masculines are not claimed for diminutives by anybody. Moreover, it is a highly improbable development of meaning from 'little finger' to 'finger ring,' since the latter bears no resemblance to the former, or from 'little arm' to 'sleeve,' for the latter surrounds the arm and is even a little larger than the arm itself. Neither Kluge<sup>2</sup> nor Brugmann<sup>3</sup> offer any explanation for this.

82. Aside from the obviously closely related exocentric compounds like περιυχένιον and περικάρπιον (§ 51. 1) I have found only three Greek neuters in -ιον which seem to belong here: βραχιόνιον: βραχίον, 'that which belongs to the arm,' 'armlet.' Poll. 5. 99. ἰσθμιον: ἰσθμός, 'that which belongs to the neck,' 'necklace.' σ 300. More uncertain is στόμιον (Poll, 5. 98): στόμα, also designating an ornament for the neck. Perhaps its primitive, like στόμαχος, originally could also mean 'throat' or 'neck,' in which case it is just like ἰσθμιον.

## 7. PLANT NAMES (see § 257 B).

## 8. WORDS DESIGNATING HERDS OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

83. These are derived from the names of the herdsman. αἰπόλιον: αἰπόλος 'herd of goats,' was 'that which belongs to the goat-herd,' etc. αἰγονόμιον 'herd of goats': αἰγονόμος 'goat-herd.' Hes., αἰπόλια: αἰγονόμα. αἰπόλιον 'herd of goats': αἰπόλος 'goat-herd.' Λ 679; Herod. 1. 126. βουκόλιον 'herd of cattle': βουκόλος 'cow-herd.' Herod. l. c.; Theocr. 8. 39. βουγόρβιον 'herd of cattle': βουφορβός 'cow-herd.'

<sup>1</sup> Rām. 1. 3. 25; Śākuntala 1. 38, 17. 3, 108. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Nom. Stamm<sup>b</sup>. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. 2. 1<sup>a</sup>. 673.

Eur. Alc. 1031. ποιμνιον 'herd of sheep': ποιμήν 'shepherd.' Herod. 2. 2; Soph. O. T. 761; Arist. H. A. 8. 10. 596 a 19; Theocr. 6. 6. ποιμανόριον 'herd': ποιμάνωρ 'herdsman.' Aesch. Pers. 75 (metaphorically). σνβόσιον 'herd of swine': σνβότης 'swine-herd.' Λ 679; ξ 101. σνγόρβιον 'herd of swine': σνφορβός 'swine-herd.' Anth. P. 11. 363. ἰσθόρβιον 'herd of swine': ἰσθφορβός 'swine-herd.' Strabo 197.

## 9. WORDS DESIGNATING A CELL, NEST, OR WEB OF AN INSECT

84. The meaning of the suffix in these words naturally often passes from 'belonging to' to coming from' (cf. § 92, 96).

A. Cells or webs of bees and wasps. κηφήνιον: κηφήν, 'that which belongs to the drone,' 'drone-cell,' and μελίτιον: μέλιττα, 'cell of a bee,' in Arist. H. A. 9. 40. 623 b 34 ff., Πλάττουσι δὲ (sc. αἱ μέλιττα) κηρία πρῶτον ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ γίνονται· εἴτ' ἐν οἷς οἱ καλούμεναι βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὰ κηφήνια.<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν αἰὲν πλάττουσι· τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔταν ἢ πολυγονία· τὰ δὲ κηφήνια ἐὰν μέλιτος ἀφρονία ἐπιστημαίνῃ. πλάττουσι δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς τοῖς αὐτῶν· μικρὰ δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα· τὰ δὲ κηφήνια πρὸς αὐτά. ἐλάττω δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῷ μεγέθει τῶν μελιττίων. σφηκίον: σφήξ, 'cell of a wasp's nest.' id. ib. 9. 41. 628 a 17, 19, 35, b 24. ἀνθρήμιον: ἀνθρήνη, 'a wasp's nest.' Ar. Vesp. 1080, 1107. τενθρήμιον: τενθρήνη, τενθρηδών, 'nest of the τενθ.' Arist. H. A. 9. 43. 629 b 1. By congeneric attraction to the first three of these words, more particularly μελίτιον, κυττάριον 'cell (of bee or wasp),' which is used without distinction from its primitive κύτταρος (Arist. Gen. An. 3. 10. 760 b 34, 4. 4. 770 a 29), has received its -ιον. Cf. also κηρίον 'that which in made of wax,' and so 'a bee's cell' (§ 101 G).

B. Webs of insects. ἀράχμιον: ἀράχνη(ς), 'that which belongs to

<sup>1</sup> I translate 'drone-cells' here also. Any attempt to rescue the diminutive character of the word in this one place by supplying ἐν οἷς γίνονται with τὰ κηφήνια, and thus translating the latter 'drone-grub,' is unallowable for several reasons. In the first place, this would be the only example where a diminutive was used to designate an insect previous to its metamorphosis (cf. § 95). Then, too, in the very same sentence the cells are referred to with respect to the working-bees and queens themselves, and why this sudden change of point of view to the grubs when it comes to the drones? Finally, it is improbable that κηφήνιον should here be a drone-grub in a doubtful passage, when twice below in the same paragraph it must necessarily be a drone-cell, while there is no good authority for the meaning 'drone-grub' in any place.



the spider,' 'spider's webs.'  $\Theta$  280,  $\pi$  35; Plato Com. frg. 2. 620; Arist. H. A. 5. 8. 542 a 13; Theocr. 16. 96. Metaphorically of a certain web-like parasitic growth upon olive trees, Theophr. H. P. 4. 14. 10. *βομβύκιον*: *βόμβυξ*, 'cocoon of silk-worm.' Arist. H. A. 5. 19. 551 b 14. *γαλάγγιον* 'web of *γάλαγγξ* (a venomous kind of spider).' id. ib 5. 27. 555 b 13.

#### 10. WORDS DESIGNATING A PART OF THE PRIMITIVE.

85. In this group also the meaning of the suffix sometimes shades into designating origin (cf. § 92, 96), while for other words, e. g. *ῥινία*, the interpretation 'belonging to' is the only possible one. Although the precise motive of formation is not in every case clear, so e. g. *δωμάτιον*, it was on the whole a particularly prominent part of an object, one which was intimately associated with its name, which could be designated in this way. Thus the nostrils are the only part of the nose which would ordinarily be noticed apart from the nose itself, and the term *ῥινία* 'that which belongs to the nose' is perfectly clear. Since these words do not form a particularly homogeneous group, the examples are arranged alphabetically without subdivision. *δωμάτιον* 'chamber': *δῶμα* 'house.' Ar. Lys. 160, Eccl. 8, frg. 2. 957; Lys. 1. 24; Plato Resp. 3. 390 C. *καλυμμάτιον*: *κάλυμμα*, 'that which belongs to the covering i. e. ceiling,' one of the pannels of a ceiling. Ar. frg. 2. 979 (20). *κογχύλιον*: *κογχύλη*, 'that which belongs to or comes from a mollusk,' 'a mollusk's shell' (cf. *χελώνιον*). Herod. 2. 12; Arist. De Col. 6. 799 b 17, De Plant. 2. 829 a 19, H. A. 3. 15. 519 b 21. *κρανίον*: *κράνον*, 'that which belongs to the head,' 'the upper part of the head,' 'skull.'  $\Theta$  84; Pind. I. 3. 72; Arist. H. A. 1. 7. 491 a 31. The frequent Attic use of *κρανίον* for the whole head is due to synecdoche (cf. note to *λαγχνίον*, § 80). So Ar. frg. 2. 1099 (5); Sot. frg. 3. 586 (1. 23); Anaxil. frg. 3. 347; Eubul. frg. 3. 234, 258 (1. 4); Amphis frg. 3. 307. *ῥινία*: *ῥίς*, 'that which belongs to the nose,'<sup>1</sup> 'the nostrils.' Arist. Physiogn. 3. 808 a 34. *σήπιον*: *σηπίς*, 'that which belongs to or comes from the cuttle-fish,' its bone. id. H. A. 4. 1. 524 b 24. *σίδιον*: *σίδη*, 'that which belongs to or comes from the pomegranate,' 'pomegranate peel.' Ar. Nub. 881; Alciph. 3. 60.

<sup>1</sup> Declared to have been originally 'little nose' by Lobeck, ad Phryn. 211, and the lexicons, though without explaining the strange development of meaning.

*σταθμίον*: *σταθμός*, 'that which belongs to the balance,' 'weight of balance.' CIA. 2. 673. 27 (385-366 B. C.). *χελώνιον*<sup>1</sup>: *χελώνη*, 'that which belongs to or comes from the tortoise,' 'tortoise shell' (cf. *κογχύλιον*). Arist. Part. An. 3. 9. 671 a 32.

#### 11. MISCELLANEOUS.

86. *ἀρδάλιον*: *ἄρδαλος*, 'that which holds the dirt,' 'bottom of sewer pipe.' Hes., *ἄρδάλια* τὸς πυθμένεας τῶν κεραμίδων. *βασκάνιον*: *βάσκανος*, 'that which has to do with a malignant person,' 'a charm against malignancy.' Ar. ap. Poll. 7. 108. *τὰ βρόγγια*: *βρόγγος*, 'that which belongs to the trachea,' 'the bronchial tubes.' Hipp. 386. *δαδίον*<sup>2</sup>: *δάς*, 'that which belongs to the fire-brand,' 'material for fire,' 'fire-wood.' Ar. Equ. 921. *διδασκάλιον*: *διδάσκαλος*, 'that which is connected with the teacher,' 'a lesson.' Herod. 5. 58. *ἐμπορία*: *ἐμπορος*, 'that which belongs to or comes from the merchant,' 'merchandise.' Xen. Vect. 1. 7. *ἰστιόν*: *ἰστός*, 'that which belongs to the mast,' 'a sail.'<sup>3</sup> A 480 f.; O 627;  $\delta$  578; H. Hom. Apoll. 487, 503. *κηρύκιον*: *κῆρυξ*, 'that which belongs to the herald,' 'a herald's staff' (cf. *κηρύκειον*). Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 173. *ὁδοιπόριον*: *ὁδοιπόρος*, 'that which belongs to the traveller,' 'provisions for the journey.' o 506. *παιδίον*: *παῖς*, a certain childrens' disease. Hipp. 281.<sup>4</sup> *πηνίον*: *πήνη*, *πήνος*, 'that which belongs to the web,' 'the bobbin.'  $\Psi$  762<sup>5</sup>; Theophr. H. P. 6. 4. 5; Anth. P. 6. 288. *πρυμνήσια* (sc. *δεσμά*): *πρυμνήσιος*, *πρύμνη*, 'the ropes belonging to the stern,' 'stern-cables.' A 436;  $\iota$  137; o 286. *πωλίον*: *πῶλος*, 'that which belongs to the foal,' i. e. the membrane around the foal in the uterus. Arist. H. A. 8. 24. 605 a 6. *σιόμιον*: *σιόμα*, 'that which belongs to

<sup>1</sup> That words of this type were not felt as standing in any relation to the diminutives, is shown by the use of the conglutinate *-ειον*, which never has diminutive meaning (§ 16), in the word *χέλειον*: *χέλυς*, originally 'tortoise shell,' then also 'crab's shell,' because of its similarity, in Aratus 494.

<sup>2</sup> Only in the passage cited, where Bentley substituted *δαδίον* or *δαλίον* for the unmetrical *δαδων* of the manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> The general meaning 'cloth' found in LXX (Exod. 27. 9, 15) is merely a generalization from 'sail,' 'sail-cloth.'

<sup>4</sup> Fäsi's conjecture *παιδικόν* for *παιδίον* is due merely to the common desire to get rid of as many non-diminutive *-ιον* words as possible.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps *πηνίον* here designates the woof. This meaning has probably given rise to the analogical formation *στημόνιον* 'warp,' = *στήμων*. So Arist. Pol. 2. 6. 1265 b 20.



the mouth,' 'bit.' Herod. 1. 215, 4. 72; Aesch. Prom. 1009; Soph. El. 1462. *σωμάτια*: *σῶμα*, 'that which is around the body,' padding used by the actors. Plato Com. ap. Photius 563. 22.

## 12. PLURALS IN *-ων* WITH INDEFINITE MEANING.

87. It is by no means uncommon for neuter plural adjectives to become substantivized by taking up into themselves the idea of things in general in a sense closely approaching that of collectives.<sup>1</sup> *τὰ ἀγαθὰ* is 'the good things,' *τὰ κακὰ* 'the evil things,' *τὰ σφάγια* may designate the aggregate of everything connected with the slaughtering, i. e. the whole ceremony and its concrete belongings. Such words in *-ων* have usually been mentioned in their place according to the function of the suffix, but I have reserved for this section a special group in which this indefinite force of the Plural was the most important semantic factor. There are certain ideas in case of which the substantivized Neuter Plural of an adjective of appurtenance is practically equivalent to the Singular of the primitive. Thus *τὰ οἰκεῖα* 'everything belonging to the house' may be entirely synonymous with *οἶκος* 'house,' in as much as the latter by itself will often suggest everything connected with the house in addition to the house itself. In this way the meaning 'belonging to' could cease to be connected with the adjectival suffix, and the original distinction between primitive and derivative became lost entirely. Finally, such a plural, since it might designate a plurality of concepts as well as a single concept, could become hypostasized and give rise to a corresponding singular, so that the derivative has completely lapsed back into the meaning of the primitive in both numbers. In this way there arose a number of words in *-ων* which, since they fail to show any distinction from their primitives, have often been forced into the diminutive pigeon-hole, but of which the prevailing use of the Plural number<sup>2</sup> really shows their true origin.

88. The whole development of meaning is best illustrated by *οἰκίον*, which, though as old as Homer, is always found in the Plural till Alexandrian times. *τὰ οἰκία* was 'everything belonging to the house,' 'the whole household' (cf. *τὰ οἰκεῖα* and the original col-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 645.

<sup>2</sup> It is also the exclusive use of the plural *τὰ οἰκία* in Classical times which militates against Brugmann's assumption that it was originally abstract. Cf. § 38 (end).

lective *ἡ οἰκία*). Sometimes, just as the German *Gehöft* designates a large estate as composed of a complex of different plots of ground, so *τὰ οἰκία* implied the idea 'a complex of buildings.' It was consequently a most fitting term to apply to particularly large or elegant houses, and so we find it in Homer and Herodotus as a frequent designation of the palaces of gods, kings, and rich men. So it is used of the whole realm of *Αἰδωνεύς* in γ' 64, *Δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἄλτο καὶ ἴαχε, μή οἱ ὑπερθεὺς Γαῖαν ἀναρρήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων, Οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη Σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα*. Of Dawn's palace μ. 4, *Ἦοῦς ἡριγενείης Οἰκία*. Of kings or rich men: Z 15; Π 595, *Ἑλλάδι οἰκία ναίων Ὀλβῷ τε πλούτῳ τε μετέπερε Μυρμιδόνεσσιν*. P 308, *ἐν κλειτῷ Πανοπῇ Οἰκία ναιετάασκε πολέσσ' ἀνδρῶσιν ἀνάσσων*. Particularly often of the palace of Odysseus: β 335; δ 555; π 385. In Herod. 1. 35, *τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία*. 1. 98, *οἰκία . . . ἄξια τῆς βασιλείης*. 1. 122, *ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία*. 3. 41 (of the palace of Polycrates); 3. 140, *τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων*. 5. 51 (of the palace of Cleomenes); 8. 35 (of the palace of Xerxes). While *τὰ οἰκία* was thus particularly well adapted for designating palaces, it could from the beginning also be applied to any house whatever; for even a small house is complex enough to suggest the notion 'everything belonging to the house.' So *τὰ οἰκία* is used of a shoemaker's dwelling H 221, *Σκυτοτόμων ὅχ' ἄριστος, Ἰλῆ ἐν οἰκία ναίων*. Cf. also Herod. 1. 199, *ἐνθα ἐπεὶν ἔζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων . . . μιχθῇ*. id. 2. 150, *ἐκ δὲ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι, οἱ κλῶπες . . . ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα οἰκία ὄρουσιν*. id. 3. 150, *γυναικα ἕκαστος (sc. τῶν Βαβυλωνίων) μίαν προσεξαιρέετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκίων*. id. 4. 103, *ἀποταρῶν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν (sc. τοῦ πολέμιου ἀνδρός) ἀποφέρειται ἐς τὰ οἰκία*. Frequent usage and failure of the hearer to grasp what was in the speaker's mind when it was practically indifferent whether the latter used *τὰ οἰκία* or *οἶκος* (cf. e. g. *ἦμε ἐς τὰ οἰκία*, Herod. 5. 51, either 'he went back to his palace' or 'to his house' or simply 'home') caused the original fine distinction between the two to become lost entirely, so that *τὰ οἰκία*, having become simply 'house' or 'home,' could be applied even to the haunts and dens of animals, where a notion of complexity is usually out of the question, as when the nest of a bird is so designated (M 221).

89. In all of the examples so far quoted the plural *τὰ οἰκία* denotes a single concept. It could, however, at any time also designate a plurality of concepts; for the accustomed force of the plural number would necessarily make itself felt just as soon as its original indefinite



meaning in this word had faded. This process was further assisted by phrases with τὰ οἰκία and a plural subject, which would sometimes leave it undecided whether different individuals are connected with one house, or each with his own. In M 168, ὥς τε σφῆκες μέσον αἰόλοι ἦδὲ μέλισσαι Οἰκία ποιήσονται, it is impossible to say whether the poet thought of a single swarm of wasps or bees building a single nest, or of different ones each building its own nest. On the other hand, a plurality of houses is undoubtedly in mind in the following passages: B 750, Οἱ ('all those who') περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχεῖμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο. Herod. 3. 24, ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες. id. 3. 51, τῇ δ' ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ παῖς δίκαιαν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. Insc. Teos. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 177. 72 (ab. 303 B. C.), [ἔσσι | δ' ἂν τὰ] οἰκία μὴ μεθαιρῶνται, τούτους λητουργεῖν. After the word was once definitely interpreted as a plural referring to a number of separate houses, and so put on a line with οἱ οἴκοι and αἱ οἰκίαι, it was easy to form a corresponding singular, as was done in Alexandrian times: Call. frg. 198; Anth. P. 6. 203.

90. Below are the remaining words which attained to the meaning of the primitive in the manner described, or had a tendency to do so. Under each word, when the different stages are extant, I divide the examples as follows: a) plural referring to a single concept; b) plural referring to a plurality of concepts; c) singular.

**δημόσια**: δημόσιος, δημότης, δῆμος, 'everything belonging to the people,' 'the commonwealth,' 'public property.' Ar. Vesp. 554, Ἐμβάλλει μοι τὴν χεῖρ' ἀπαλήν, τῶν δημοσίων κεκλοφύσιν. The Singular δημόσιον 'the state' is probably originally an abstract (§ 38); for it is earlier and much more frequent than the Plural, and so not derived from it.

**ἰσθμία**: ἰσθμός, 'the parts belonging to the neck,' 'the region of the neck.' Hipp. 267, ἔλκεα τὰ παλινδρομήσαντα ἐν ἰσθμίοις.

**ἵχνια**: ἵχνος, 'foot-steps,' 'tracks.' While the two words are synonymous from the beginning of the transmission, we may surmise that the primitive was at one time a verbal abstract with the meaning 'the stepping,' 'going,' 'gait,' and secondarily came to designate the foot-prints, just like the original English abstract foot-step and the German Fufstritt. τὰ ἵχνια was 'everything connected with the walking,' not only the foot-prints, but also the manner of walking, the gait. This general meaning is extant in N 71, where Ebeling translates 'ingressus': Ἰχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἦδὲ κνημῶν 'Πεῖ' ἔγνων

ἀπὸντος· ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ. Later the meaning 'foot-prints' became fixed exclusively, because they were the most conspicuous feature connected with the gait of a person. Examples: a) Σ 321, Πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε (sc. ὁ λῆς) μετ' ἀνέρος ἵχνη' ἐρευνῶν. Ψ 764, Ἰχνια τύπτε πόδεσσι. β 406, γ 30, ε 193, η 38, μετ' ἵχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο. Theocr. 25. 216, οὐδενὸς ἵχνια τοῖο (sc. λέοντος) Φρασθῆναι δυνάμην. b) H. Hom. Merc. 218, 220, Ἰχνια μὲν τὰδε γ' ἐστὶ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων. ib. 342, τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἵχνια (sc. τῶν βοῶν) τοῖα πέλωρα. Ps. Sim. Ceos 182. 3, ἐπὶ ποδὸς ἵχνια πρᾶτον Ἀρμόσαμεν. c) only post-Homeric. Plato Phaedr. 266 B, τοῦτον διώκω κατόπισθε μετ' ἵχνιον ὥστε θεοῖο. Quint. Sm. 8. 361, Χαζομένοισιν ἔποντο κατ' ἵχνιον.

**μηρία**: μηρός, 'the parts belonging to or coming from the thigh' (cf. τὰ ἰσθμία, τὰ σιαγόνια). If the speaker thought of the thigh as a whole, as in case of the human thigh, he would use μηρός (cf. A 190, φάσγανον δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ). If, on the other hand, he thought of the thighs of animals as they were cut up into parts for sacrifice, or of their fat and bones that were burnt upon the altar, he would use τὰ μηρία. Cf. Ebeling, Lex. Hom. s. v. Examples: a) A 773, Πίονα μηρί' ἔκαie βοός. O 373, Ἡ βοός ἡ ὄιος κατὰ πίονα μηρία καίων. γ 456, Αἰψ' ἄρα μιν διέχευαν, ἄφαρ δ' ἐκ μηρία τάμνον. δ 764, Ἡ βοός ἡ ὄιος κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκην. b) A 40; Θ 240, Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι βοῶν δημόν καὶ μηρί' ἔκην. ρ 241; χ 336, βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκην. Callinus 2, μηρία καλὰ βοῶν. Theocr. 17. 126. c) only Posidonius ap. Athen. 154 B, παρατεθέντων κολήνων τὸ μηρίον ὁ κράτιστος ἐλάμβανεν.

**ὄρια**: ὄριος, ὅρος, 'what belongs to the boundary,' i. e. boundaries, limits, frontier. a) Eur. Tro. 375, Ἐθνησκον, οὐ γῆς ὄρι' ἀποστερούμενοι Οὐδ' ὑψιπύργου πατρίδος. Thuc. 2. 12. 3, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις ἐγένετο. Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 18, ἐξεβοήθει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρια. b) Plato Legg. 842 E, μὴ κινεῖτω γῆς ὄρια μηδεὶς. c) Hipp. 744, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὄριον τοῦ μάλιστα τὸ συμψαύειν.

**ὄρκια**: ὄρκιος, ὅρκος, 'the things belonging to the oath,' i. e. the offerings, rites, treaties, etc., which were naturally soon confounded with the oath itself. a) Of the victims Γ 245, Κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν φέρον ὄρκια πιστά, Ἄρνε δῶμα καὶ οἶνον ἐύφρονα. There is also a reminiscence of this more concrete meaning in the phrase ὄρκια τάμνειν (B 124; Γ 105), which originally referred to the slaying of the victims,<sup>1</sup> but was later understood as designating the whole ceremony.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ebeling, Lex. Hom. s. v.



The latter or the oath itself was in the mind from the beginning in the following passages: Γ 269, Ὀρκια πιστὰ θεῶν σύναγον. Γ 280, φυλάσσετε ὅρκια πιστά. Δ 157, κατὰ δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ πάτησαν. Η. 69; τ 302, ἔμπης δέ τοι ὅρκια δώσω. ω 546; Herod. 1. 69, 9. 92, οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. id. 9. 106, τοὺτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι ἔπλεον. Aesch. Ag. 1431; Soph. Trach. 1223. b) X 262, οὐκ ἔστι λένουσι καὶ ἀνδρασιν ὅρκια πιστά. Herod. 1. 74, ὅρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνας. id. 4. 70, Ὀρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται. Σκύθαι ᾧδε. id. 4. 172, ὁρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται (sc. οἱ Νασχυῶνες) τοιγῆδε. c) Δ 158, Οὐ μὲν πως ἄλιον πέλει ὅρκιον αἰμά τε ἀρνῶν. Herod. 1. 143, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι. id. 7. 132, ἔταμον ὅρκιον.

*σιαγόνα*: *σιαγών*, 'the parts belonging to the jaw,' 'the region of the jaws' (cf. τὰ ἰσθμια, τὰ μηρία). Hipp. 469, προστιθέσθω πρὸς τὰς γνάθους καὶ τὰ σιαγόνα. id. 470, ἡ φάρυγξ φλεγμαίνει καὶ τὰ σιαγόνα.

*γορτία*: *φόρτος*, 'the things belonging to the load,' i. e. the things which constitute the load, wares, merchandise, etc. The original difference, that the singular primitive represented the load more as an entirety, while the plural in -ια called attention to its parts, naturally soon became effaced. a) Hes. Op. 643, Νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτίᾳ θέσθαι. id. ib. 693, Δεινὸν δ' εἴ κ' ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ὑπέρβιον ἄχθος αἰέρας Ἀξόνα κυνάξαις, τὰ δὲ φορτί' ἀμαυρωθείη. Simply 'provisions' Ar. Ran. 573. b) Herod. 1. 1, ἀπαγινέοντας . . . φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. id. 1. 194, ἀπιῖσι (sc. τὰ πλοῖα) κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες. id. 4. 196. c) In contrast to the loads of ships and wagons, which would appear as something complex, and would therefore be fittingly designated by the Plural, the load of a single man would usually be viewed as something of such unity that the Singular would be used, i. e. just as soon as the fading of the original meaning of the Plural would allow the creation of a corresponding Singular; for before this any -ιον was inadmissible. So Ar. Ach. 214, φέρων ἀνδράκων φορτίον. Xen. An. 7. 1. 37, σκορπίδων ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο (sc. φέρειν) μέγιστον φορτίον. id. Cyr. 2. 3. 14, ὥστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν φόρημα περὶ μᾶλλον εὐκέναι ἢ φορτίον.

*χωρία*: *χώρος*, *χώρα*. While in case of the other words grouped here the theory that the Plural was the original number has received strong support from the fact that in the earliest writers in which they occurred they were either altogether or at least in the overwhelming

majority of instances used in the Plural, such support can not be claimed for *χωρίον*, which frequently occurs in both numbers as soon as it appears. But since we can distinguish the same three semantic groups as for the other words, and since τὰ χωρία in Herodotus quite frequently occurs in the meaning 'regions,' without being a distinct plural to *χωρίον*, we may surmise that the same grammatical transfiguration has taken place here also, though before its first appearance in literature, i. e. before the time of Herodotus, to whom I will consequently confine my examples, particularly since there is in him as yet no trace of the later tendency to specialize the word into the meaning 'strong-hold,' 'fortress.'<sup>1</sup> a) τὰ χωρία 'what belongs to a particular space or country,' 'the regions.' 1. 57, τὸν ἠνείκωντο (sc. οἱ Κρηστώνηται) γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. 2. 22, εἰ ἐχρίνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία (viz. Egypt.). 3. 111, ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασὶ τινὰς αὐτὸ φέρεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη. 6. 28, ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοισι ἐτύγγανε ἐὼν Ἀρπαγος. 7. 126, εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ λένοντες πολλοὶ καὶ βόες ἄγριοι. 7. 127, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοισι οἱ βάρβαροι. 7. 188, τὸν δὴ (sc. ἄνεμον) Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκημένοι. 2. 25, of the atmospheric regions, ἔλκει γὰρ (sc. ὁ ἥλιος) ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλαύσας δὲ ἀπωθεῖ ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία. b) Different regions or individual places are clearly in the mind of the writer. Transition from a) to b) e. g. 1. 142, οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τούτῳ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ οὔτε τὰ κάτω. Clearly to b) belong 2. 10, 13, οἰκέοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα. 3. 106, 4. 28, κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμὼν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις γινόμενοις χειμῶσι. 6. 101, κατέσχον τὰς νέας τῆς Ἑρετρικῆς χώρας κατὰ Τέμενος καὶ Χοιρέας καὶ Αἰγίλεα, κατασχόντες δὲ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία κτλ. 6. 137, ἄλλα τε σχεῖν χωρία καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἴμνον. c) The singular *χωρίον*, referring to a particular place. 1. 11, 98, τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖ κολωνὸς ἐὼν. 1. 186, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὥρυσε χωρίον. 1. 196, ἐς ἐν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας (sc. τὰς παρθένους). 2. 19, ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος . . . καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου. 2. 29, 75, 3. 86, 4. 92, 113, ἐλθεῖν ἐς τούτῳ χωρίον καὶ ἕτερον ἄγειν. 5. 92 ζ, 6. 102, καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαρθίων ἐπιτηδεύατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι. 7. 9 β, ἐξου-

<sup>1</sup> This fact makes the attempt of some lexicons to make *χωρίον* a diminutive with the original meaning 'a small piece of ground' appear as diametrically opposed to the transmission, which shows that the supposed original use is really the latest of all.



ρόντες τὸ κάλλιστον χωρίον καὶ λειότατον, ἐς τοῦτο κατιόντες μάχονται. 8. 25, 128, ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκαίμενον χωρίον. 9. 21, χωρίον is 'distance' in 3. 5, οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν.

### IX. -ιον IN THE MEANING "COMING FROM."

91. The use of the suffix (-i)io- in adjectives of parentage and origin is also already an Indo-European development. Not only does the Greek Τελαμώνιος Αἴας 'Ajax son of Telamon' have its counterpart in such patronymics as Skr. Tūgrya-s 'descendant of Tugra,' or in the Latin and Oscan gentiles like Decimius, originally 'son,' later 'descendant of Decimus,'<sup>1</sup> but also in adjectives derived from appellatives is this force of the suffix occasionally apparent: cf. Skr. abhriya-s 'from the clouds' (: abhrā-m), Gr. ἀηδόνιος νόμος 'song coming from the nightingale' (Ar. Ran. 684), Lat. uxorius imber 'tears caused by the wife' on account of her death (Statius Silvae 5. 1. 31).

92. The ease with which this group of ideas can in nearly every case be derived from 'belonging to,' would point to the conclusion that the former developed from the latter merely by the change of point of view of the speaker or by change of some external circumstance. Thus Τελαμώνιος Αἴας was 'Ajax who belongs to the family of Telamon,' but, since the head of the family was also the father of the children, Τελαμώνιος could be interpreted as meaning 'descended from Telamon,' and so -ιον could become a patronymic suffix. That this interpretation was actually made in some sections, is shown by the regular use of the conglutinate -ειο- to form patronymics in the Aeolic dialects: for which cf. Hoffmann, Griech. Dial. 2. 588. On the other hand, the meaning 'belonging to' can become 'coming from' through change of position of the object referred to. Κορίνθιος referring to a man at Corinth would be 'belonging to Corinth,' but when applied to a Corinthian abroad it at once became 'coming from Corinth.' The same development takes place in neuter substantives: κεράσιον 'cherry' was 'that which belongs to the cherry-tree' (κερασός),<sup>2</sup> when growing on the tree, but when picked it was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Deecke, Die Falisker 275 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Altogether different is the neuter ἄπιον 'pear': ἄπιος 'pear tree.' The ending -ιον is accidental, being due entirely to the fact that the Masculine had -ιος (probably < -ιος, cf. Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. ἄπιος). In various Indo-European languages fruits are sometimes designated by a neuter with the same stem

'that which comes from the cherry-tree'; σίδιον 'pomegranate peel,' when thought of as a part of the intact fruit, was 'that which belongs to the pomegranate (σίδη),' but when the peel apart from the fruit was referred to, it was 'that which comes from the pomegranate'; κογχύλιον (: κογχύλη) would be 'that which belongs to the mollusk' when thought of as a part of the living animal, but 'that which comes from the mollusk' when the empty shell was seen.

93. The neuter substantives belonging here can be divided into two main classes according to whether they designate an animal or thing. In the former case the suffix implies that the animal designated by the derivative is descended from that denoted by the primitive, in the latter it calls attention to the origin of a thing.

#### 1. -ιον AS A SUFFIX OF DESCENT.

94. The notion of descent as applied to animals usually carries with it the idea of youth; for it is comparatively rarely in ordinary speech that there is occasion for indicating the descent of an adult animal. In this way patronymic suffixes in general have a tendency to become productive in words designating the young of animals, and there are also a few words in -ιον of this kind: ἐχίδνιον: ἐχίδνα, 'a young viper' Arist. H. A. 5. 34. 558 a 29, τίκτει δὲ μικρὰ ἐχίδνια.<sup>1</sup> ὀρνίθιον: ὄρνις, 'a young bird' in Arist. H. A. 4. 9. 536 b 14, καὶ τῶν μικρῶν ὀρνιθίων ἔνια οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀφίησι φωνήν . . . τοῖς γεννήσαντι. πολυπόδιον: πολύπους, 'a young polyp.' id. ib. 9. 37. 622 a 23, μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν τῶν πολυποδίων. id. ib. 5. 18. 550 a 4, τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολυπόδων μεθ' ἡμέρας μάλιστα πεντήκοντα γίνεται ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρραγόντων πολυπόδια. πορφύριον: πορφύρα, 'young of purple-fish.' id. ib. 5. 15. 546 b 32, γίνεται ἐν τῇ γῇ συστάντα πορφύρια μικρά, ἃ ἔχουσιν ἀλίσκονται αἱ πορφύραι ἐφ' αὐτῶν. στρουθίον: στρουθός, 'a young sparrow.' Ehippus frg. 3. 326, τοῖσι στρουθίοις Χαινεῖς ὁμοίως ἔησε 'like gaping young sparrows (when fed).' Cf. also the conglutinate -(i)διον in ἐχίδιον, ἰχθυίδιον, κυνίδιον, and σηπιδιον (§ 315. IV).

95. From the use of a suffix to denote the young of animals a diminutive meaning may easily develop; for the young are at the same

as a corresponding masculine name of the tree. So κόμαρος is the strawberry tree, and κόμαρον its fruit; κάστανος is a chestnut tree, and κάστανον a chestnut. Similarly Lat. arbutus and arbutum, the straw-berry tree and its fruit.

<sup>1</sup> Var. lect. for ἐχίδνα.



time small, and the notion of small size, though at first accessory, might become dominant. In this way the Germanic diminutives in -īna- largely or entirely originated.<sup>1</sup> For Greek -ιον, however, even granting that a word of this kind may have been formed here and there with the idea 'coming from' in the mind of the speaker, yet for the mass of diminutives this origin is impossible; for there is not one word designating a young of an animal in which the idea of descent *must* have been uppermost. In case of insects, whose offspring has at first a different shape from the parents', and reaches it only after subsequent metamorphosis, the caterpillars and grubs are never designated by diminutives in -ιον (for *κηφήνιον* see § 84 A note). On the contrary, Aristotle, on whose scientific writings the burden of proof must rest in such questions, is careful always to use *σκώληξ* 'worm' for such animals, e. g. *οἱ σκώληκες τῶν ἀραχνίων* (H. A. 5. 27. 555 b 6), *τῶν ἀκρίδων* (ib. 28. 556 a 1), *τῶν μυῶν* (ib. 1. 539 b 11), *τῶν σφηγῶν* (ib. 19. 551 a 29), *τῶν μελιττῶν* (An. Gen. 3. 9. 758 b 18). On the other hand the use of the adjective *μικρός* in half the examples quoted above shows how prominent the idea of small size was to the mind of the Greek in the very cases which seem to be on the border line. And finally, for such a widely productive class as the diminutive we should expect to find pattern types that were constantly in the mouth of everybody, and not a few rare words or rare uses of words which were practically confined to special circles such as the scientific investigators. The young of the most common domestic animals were for the most designated by totally different stems than of the words designating the adults; cf. *πῶλος* and *ἵππος*, *μόσχος* and *βοῦς*, *ἀμνός* and *οἶς*, *σκύλαξ* and *κύων*, etc.

## 2. -ιον TO DESIGNATE ORIGIN.

96. By far the larger number of examples can also be interpreted as 'belonging to,' and have been discussed under that heading. Thus the idea 'coming from' might be present with more or less distinctness in the following words besides those mentioned in § 92: (1) Words designating cells, nests, or webs of insects (§ 84): *με-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kluge, *Nom. Stammb.* 29; Polzin, *Stud. z. Gesch. des Dim. im Deutsch.* 2 ff. Wrede, *Die Dim. im Deutschen*, p. 140 ff. et al., unaccountably assumes that the diminutive meaning must always have come about through the hypocoristic, instead of allowing direct development from the idea of descent.

*λίττις*, 'honey-comb,' 'that which belongs to or comes from the bee,' similarly *σφηγίον* (but not *κηφήνιον*; for the drone, of course, does not make its own cell), *ἀνδρήνιον*, *τενδρήνιον*, *ἀράχνιον*, *βομβύκιον*, *φαλάγγιον*. (2) Words designating a part of the primitive (§ 85): *κογχύλιον* 'mollusk's shell,' 'that which belongs to or comes from the mollusk,' similarly *κρανίον*, *σῆπιον*, *σίδιον*, *χελώνιον*. (3) *ἵχνια* 'tracks,' 'that which is connected with or comes from the foot-steps' (§ 90), *μηρία* 'the parts belonging to or coming from the thigh' (§ 90). Like *κεράσιον* (Diph. Siphn. ap. Athen. 51 A) 'cherry' (cf. § 92) is *κασσιάνιον*: *κάστανος*, 'that which belongs to or comes from the chestnut tree,' 'chestnut,' Galen. 6. 426. A group of words with the idea 'coming from' uppermost consists of derivatives of geographical names and personal names: *κνίδια* sc. *κρόμμυα*, a species of onions 'coming from Cnidus.' Theophr. H. P. 7. 4. 7. *μυννάκια*: *Μύννακος*, a kind of shoe 'coming from, i. e. made by Μύννακος.' Poll. 7. 89. *σακάδιον*: *Σακάδας*,<sup>1</sup> a musical instrument 'coming from, i. e. invented by Σακάδας.' Hes. *σακάδιον*· εἶδος μουσικοῦ ὄργάνου. *σαμοθράκια* sc. *κρόμμυα*, a species of onions 'coming from Samothrace.' Theophr. l. c. *σάρδια* sc. *κρόμμυα*, a species of onions 'coming from Sardis.' id. l. c. The singular *σάρδιον* as well as the plural is used of a precious stone, 'that which comes from Sardis,' 'the Sardinian stone.'<sup>2</sup> Plato *Phaedo* 110 D; CIA. 2. 708. 7 (after 340 B. C.), 835 c-l 13 (320-317 B. C.). *σικνώνια* sc. *ὑποδήματα*, a kind of women's shoe 'coming from Sicyon.' Poll. 7. 93. Other words in which -ιον expresses origin are: *σελήνιον*: *σελήνη*, 'that which comes from the moon,' 'moonlight.' Arist. *Mir.* 55. 834 b 4; Athen. 276 E. *τραχήλια*: *τράχηλος*, originally 'the parts coming from the neck,' then 'scraps,' 'offal.' Ar. *Vesp.* 968; *Pherecr.* frg. 2. 275.

## X. -ιον IN THE MEANING "MADE OF" OR "CONSISTING OF."

97. Formatives designating material are usually identical with those designating origin. This is true e. g. of the genitive and ablative case endings as well as of many adjectives of material. Thus, to take an example in -(i)ο-, Skr. *udaniya-s* 'consisting of water' suggests *abhriya-s* 'coming from the clouds,' which had not yet the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Albert-Schmidt ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blümner, *Tech.* 3. 262.



idea of material present. There are also certain traces of this usage for Greek -ιο-, even though its place in later times was in most dialects taken by -ινο-, -εο-, and the conglutinate -ειο-, since the sphere of meaning of these suffixes was more unified and less varied and complex than of -ιο-, and thus allowed the signification 'made of' to become more vividly attached to themselves. -ιον, however, occurs in certain adjectives of material in the Aeolic dialects, e. g. χρύσιος 'golden,' χάλκιος 'of bronze,' λίθιος 'of stone,' for which cf. Hoffmann, Griech. Dial. 2. 317, 385. In Alcman, frg. 75, we find πυάνιον<sup>1</sup> τε πόλτον, 'porridge made of πύανος.' The question may further be raised how far -εο- and -ειο- in adjectives of material in the Homeric poems were substituted for -ιο- in the course of transmission by the scribes, to whom this use of the latter suffix had become a stumbling-block, because otherwise unknown to them. It must be born in mind that -εο- and -ιο- are metrically equivalent, while for -ειο- -ιο- can often be substituted by making slight textual changes, e. g. ἐπὶ δ' αἶγιον ἔκνη τυρόν for ἐπὶ δ' αἶγειον κνή τυρόν (A 639).

98. That neuter substantives in -ιον which appear to be derived from adjectives of material are much more numerous than the adjectives themselves, is in this light not surprising. The pattern types belong to an early period when the suffix was still productive in the adjectives, and they remained and gave rise to analogical formations long after the latter had disappeared.

99. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 665, divides adjectives of material into two classes: either the material is something homogeneous as stone or wood, or it is complex, as in Lat. caprīnus Gr. αἶγιος τυρός 'cheese made of goats' milk.' In the latter case the conception was more likely to remain 'coming from' the goat, and only after the meaning 'made of' had become firmly established in other words, could the interpretation of material find a place in those of this type. The transition from one meaning to the other is due to words in which change of point of view could cause change of interpretation. Thus σχοινίον 'rope,' 'that which is made of reeds (σχοῖνοι),' may have been 'that which comes from the reeds' as long as these were thought of as they grew in their natural state; but the speaker would soon think of them rather as they were cut and prepared for rope-making, i. e. as raw material from which the finished product was made; for the

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, uncertain how far Doric words in -ιο- originally had -εο-.

latter would preferably suggest them in this way. It was then almost inevitable to interpret the already existing word as 'made of reed.' Similarly μυχώνιον 'juice of the poppy' could have been felt as 'that which comes from' or 'is made of the poppy' according to whether the association was with the natural plant or the process of manufacture.

100. Derivatives with the material idea are particularly often partial synonyms of their primitives, the latter then usually including the meaning of the derivative as well as other meanings. In most cases the cause of this is not the development of the -ιον form so much as the common metonymy of designating a thing by the material out of which it is made. Just as the English sheep-skin is applied to the finished parchment no less than to the raw skin, so Greek βίβλος 'papyrus' came to designate the papyrus roll made of it, and so became synonymous with βιβλίον 'that which is made of papyrus,' i. e. 'papyrus roll' from the beginning. Similar is the relation of ἀργύριον and ἄργυρος, χρυσίον and χρυσός, εἶρις and εἶρος, πιλίον and πῖλος, σιτία and σῖτος, σχοινίον and σχοῖνος.

101. Collection of examples. I subdivide according to congeneric groups of associated words.

A. *Words derived from names of metals.* ἀργύριον : ἄργυρος, 'that which is made of silver,' 'wrought silver,' 'silver money,' then 'money' in general. a) 'Wrought silver.' Thuc. 2. 13. 4, χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσκήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου. Cf. ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου 'coined silver' ib. section 3. b) On the border line between 'wrought silver' and 'silver money' are phrases like the following: Herod. 3. 13, ἐπεμύσαν . . . πεντηκοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου. id. 3. 90, προσήμε τετρακίσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. id. 7. 28; Timocr. 1. 6. c) 'Silver money' e. g. Ar. Equ. 472, οὗτ' ἀργύριον οὐτε χρυσίον Διδοῦς ἀναπείσεις. d) Probably 'money' in general Herod. 7. 214; Insc. Boeot CB. 488. 72 (223-197 B. C.). e) Of a single piece of money Xen. Oec. 19. 16. f) 'A small coin,' if we can trust the grammarian of AB. 1. 442. 10, Ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ λεπτόν νόμισμα καλοῦσιν, ὥς Ἀριστοφάνης Δαναΐσιν. He may, however, very well have misinterpreted the Aristophanic passage he cites. Cf. § 2. μολύβδιον : μόλυβδος, 'that which is made of lead,' 'a leaden weight.' Hipp. 791. σιδήριον : σιδηρός, 'that which is made of iron,' 'an iron implement or tool.' Herod. 7. 18, 9. 37 (of a knife); Thuc. 4. 4. 2, σιδήρια . . . λιθορυγὰ. Insc. Crete Baunack Philol. 55. 481, Φεργαλεῖα σιδάρια. χαλκίον : χαλκός, 'that which is made of copper' (cf. the Aeolic adjective χάλκιος). a) 'A copper vessel.' Poll. 10. 66; CIA. 2. 678 B 28, 41 (378-366 B. C.), ib. 2. 689. 2



(ab. 350 B. C.). b) 'A cymbal.' Theocr. 2. 36. c) 'A copper coin.' Ar. Ran. 725, τούτοις τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλκίοις Χθρὲς τε καὶ πρῶν κοπέσι τῷ κακίστῳ κόμματι. d) 'A copper ticket' given to the dicasts. Dem. 39. 10, χρυσίον: χρυσός, 'that which is made of gold' (cf. the Aeolic adjective χρύσιος). a) 'Wrought gold'<sup>1</sup> in general, 'gold plate,' etc., almost synonymous with χρυσός. Herod. 3. 95, 97, 4. 166; CIA. 2. 652 A 26 (398 B. C.); Insc. Aeol. CB. 213. 13 (ab. 390 B. C.); Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 40. b) 'Gold coin,' 'gold money.' Eur. Cycl. 161; Ar. Equ. 472; Plato Resp. 336 E. c) 'A golden vessel.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 38. d) For the hypocoristic use of the word cf. § 251.

Of these words ἀργύριον and χρυσίον form a particularly closely associated pair as being both derived from names of precious metals and as designating kinds of money. In this latter meaning these words influenced the use of χαλκίον for a copper coin, and, conversely, χρυσίον as applied to a gold vessel was due to the influence of χαλκίον 'a copper vessel.'

B. *Vessels made of earthen ware.* The earliest and most frequent of names of vessels in -ιον derived from the material out of which they are made is κεράμιον: κέραμος, 'that which is made of potter's clay,' i. e. 'an earthen vessel.' Herod. 3. 6; Arist. Categ. 15. 15 b 24; Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 587. 13, 204 (329-328 B. C.). This word probably served as pattern type both for χαλκίον (see A end) and ὀστράκιον, which designates an earthen vessel in Arist. H. A. 8. 4. 594 a 11. Since its primitive ὄστρακον does not occur in the meaning 'potter's clay,' but always designates something made of it or of some similar substance, e. g. vessels, tiles, or castanets, it is probable that the meaning 'made of' was never connected with its suffix, which was in that case due to the direct attraction of κεράμιον.

C. *Books, writing tablets, and the like.* βιβλίον (βυβλίον): βίβλος (βύβλος), 'that which is made of papyrus-bark.' In Herodotus it designates a letter,<sup>2</sup> e. g. 1. 125, 3. 128, 8. 128. It means 'book' e. g. in Plato Com. frg. 2. 672 (1. 2); Xen. Mem. 1. 6. 14; Plato Apol. 26 D. It does not at all follow from the usage of Herodotus that the word was originally a diminutive; for there is no evidence anywhere that any idea of small size was ever connected with it. The difference between him and the Attic writers was probably dialectical rather than chronological. κηρίον: κηρός, 'that which is made

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blümner, op. cit. 4. 306.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Birt, Ant. Buchw. 20 ff.

of wax,' 'a waxen tablet.' Anth. P. 9. 190. πινάκιον: πίνυξ, 'that which is made of flat wood,' 'a small wooden tablet, plate, or dish' (cf. σανίδιον). Later the word became generalized so as to include the same objects when made of different material. a) 'A writing tablet,' put to legal uses of diverse kinds. Ar. Vesp. 167, Av. 450; Dem. 8. 28, 39. 12; Plato Legg. 753 C; Arist. Pol. 2. 8. 1268 a 2. b) 'A tablet for painting upon.' Isocr. 15. 2; Theophr. H. P. 3. 9. 7. c) 'A plate' or 'dish.'<sup>1</sup> Epict. 1. 19. 4; CIA. 2. 766. 10, 17; ib. 2. 835 c-1 22 (320-317 B. C.); ib. 2. 652 B 7 (after 307 B. C.). πνξίον: πνξός, 'that which is made of box-wood,' 'writing-tablet' or 'tablet for painting.' Ar. and Anaxandr. ap. Poll. 10. 59; Luc. Indoct. 15. σανίδιον: σάνις, 'that which is made of flat wood' (cf. πινάκιον). a) 'A tablet used for recording,' 'a register.' Lys. 16. 6; Aeschin. 3. 200 f.; Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 439. 124 (ab. 360 B. C.). b) 'A plate' or 'trencher.'<sup>1</sup> Ar. Pax 202; Men. frg. 4. 127; CIA. 2. 835 c-1 85, 87 (320-317 B. C.). γιλύριον: γιλύρα, 'that which is made of linden wood,' 'a tablet of linden wood.' Ael. V. H. 14. 12.

By congeneric attraction to these words arose the following ones in which there is no idea of material present: δελτίον, completely equivalent to its primitive δέλτος 'tablet.' Herod. 7. 239. ἀβάκιον shows the source of its suffix by the fact that in its first occurrence it designates a reckoning board or tablet covered with sand and used by mathematicians<sup>2</sup> (Alex. frg. 3. 389, also Plut. Cato. Min. 70), while the primitive ἄβαξ occurs not only in this meaning, but has a wider sphere of usage. Nevertheless, because the two words were equivalent in this one use, the general feeling of equivalence resulted, and by the process of semantic syncretism<sup>3</sup> ἀβάκιον could probably take the place of its primitive in any of its meanings. At any rate it is used of a sort of table or side-board in an inscription from Smyrna (Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 2. 583. 11) of the beginning of our era. πτυκτίον<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this use πινάκιον and σανίδιον were, of course, rather associated with words like χαλκίον (see sub A, end), κεράμιον (see sub B), and other words designating vessels (§ 260 C).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa s. v.

<sup>3</sup> By semantic syncretism is meant the process which is preparatory to real or formal syncretism, the assimilation of meaning which may result if two words or formatives have a portion of their sphere of usage in common and a consequent feeling of equivalence results, but without the disappearance of one of the two synonymous expressions.

<sup>4</sup> From πτυκτίον comes πυκτίον (Anth. P. 1. 84) by dissimilatory loss of the first τ. Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr<sup>3</sup>. 134.



'a folded tablet' is the result of the influence of its congeners upon the phrase *πτυκτὸς πίναξ* with the same meaning. The suffix actually has taken up into itself the implication of 'tablet.'

D. *Things made of cloth, particularly articles of dress.* *καννάβιον*: *κάνναβις*, 'that which is made of hemp,' a kind of women's shoe. Poll. 7. 94. *πιλίον*: *πῖλος*, 'that which is made of felt,' 'a felt cap.' Diminutive interpretation is originally impossible; for the word is used in a general statement in Arist. frg. 226. 1519 a 14, τὰ πιλία θάπτον ποιεῖ πολιοῦς. For Polyb. 35. 6. 4 see § 167. *διδόνιον*: *διδόνη*, 'that which is made of linen.' a) 'A linen cloth.' Ar. frg. 2. 989; CIA. 2. 708. 6 (after 340 B. C.). b) 'Linen bandages.' Ar. Ach. 1171. c) 'Sail-cloths' (in plural). Dem. 47. 20. *σακκίον*: *σάκκος*, 'that which is made of σάκκος,' which is a coarse cloth of hair. *σακκίον* accordingly is 'mourners' sack-cloth' in Men. frg. 4. 102, though elsewhere it is also diminutive (§ 185). *σινδόνιον*: *σινδών*, 'that which is made of sindon,' a curtain or garment made of a fine kind of cloth. Poll. 7. 73. *σπειρίον*, 'that which is made of σπείρον (a kind of cloth),' 'a light summer garment.' Xen. Heli. 4. 5. 4. *φωσσώνιον*: *φώσσων*, 'that which is made of coarse cloth,' 'a coarse towel.' Luc. Lex. 2.

By congeneric attraction to *διδόνιον* in the meaning 'linen bandages' arose *σπληνίον* (Philem. frg. 4. 42 [25 b]) 'bandages for wounds' = *σπλήν* (in this sense Hipp. 745), and *τερχίον*: *τερχος*, 'a rag used for bandaging,' Hipp. 595, 813, 837.

E. *Juices of plants, flowers, or fruits.* *βαλάνιον*: *βάλανος*, 'that which is made of acorns,' 'a decoction to cure drunkenness.' Nicochares frg. 2. 846 (1). Similarly *γλανίον* 'juice of the γλαύξ.' Diosc. 3. 100. *κραμβίον*: *κράμβη*, 'a decoction of cabbage.' Galen. Lex. Hipp. p. 506. In the same sense elsewhere *κραμβεῖον*. *μηκώνιον*: *μήκων*, 'poppy juice.' Hipp. 407; Arist. H. A. 7. 10. 587 a 31 (metaphorically). *ὀμφάκιον*: *ὀμφάξ*, 'juice of unripe grapes.' Diosc. 5. 6. *σνκίον*: *σῦκον*, 'a decoction of figs.' Hipp. 470. *γάκιον*: *γάκος*, 'a decoction of lentils.' Hipp. 474.

A remarkable case of congeneric attraction by a word of this group is *ὄπιον* 'poppy juice,' 'opium,': *ὀπός* 'juice' of any plant. It has been assimilated to *μηκώνιον* 'poppy juice' both in form and meaning. So Alex. Trall. 2. 159.

F. *Articles of food.* *αἰμάτιον*: *αἰμάτιος*, *αἷμα*, 'that which is made of blood,' 'blood-sausage.' Hes., *αἰμάτια*: *ἀλλάντια*. *ἀμύλιον*: *ἄμυλον*, a cake made of the finest kind of meal. Evangelus frg. 4. 572 (8);

Arist. Probl. 4. 21. 879 a 10. *γαλάκιον*: *γάλα*, 'a dish made of milk.' Alciph. frg. 10. *γαστήριον*: *γαστήρ*, 'that which is made of the paunch,' 'the paunch stuffed with mince-meat,' 'sausage.' Anthenion frg. 4. 558 (28). Probably felt as diminutive-hypocoristic in Nicostratus frg. 3. 279; Com. Anon. frg. 4. 608 (27 b), for which cf. § 224. *κύβιον*: *κύβος*, 'that which consists of cubes,' 'the flesh of the παλαμύς salted.' Alex. frg. 3. 389 (l. 9). *μελίτιον*: *πόμα* τι Σκυθικὸν μέλιτος ἐφομένου σὺν ὕδατι καὶ πόα τινί Hes. Consequently 'that which is made of honey.' *δρόβιον*, 'meal made of the ὄροβος (a kind of pulse).' Hipp. 576. *πυάνιον*: *πύανος*, 'that which is made of beans,' a dish of various kinds of pulse cooked sweet. Sosib. ap. Athen. 648 B, ἔστι δὲ τὸ πυάνιον πανσπερμία ἐν γλυκεῖ ἡψημένη. *σιτία*: *σίτος*, 'that which is made of grain,' originally 'bread,' as in Herod. 2. 36, ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῖνται σιτία. Hipp. 404, σιτία . . . μάλιστα μὲν τοὺς ἐκ πυρῶν ἄρτους λέγων. Cf. also Herod. 1. 188, 2. 37, 8. 137. Later the word became generalized so as to mean 'food' or 'provisions' in general, so e. g. Herod. 1. 192, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετέταχτο σιτία παρέχων. id. 4. 152, σιτία οἱ ἐνικυτοῦ καταλείπουσι.

G. *Miscellaneous.* *ἀλαβάστιον*: *ἀλάβαστος*, 'that which is made of alabaster,' 'an alabaster box.' Eubul. frg. 3. 253 (7). *ἀστράγαλιον*: *ἀστράγαλος*, 'that which is made of knuckle-bones,' 'dice.' CIA. 2. 766. 32. *δοράτιον*<sup>1</sup>: *δορά*, 'that which is made of hide,' 'a bag.' Xen. An. 6. 4. 23. *εἴριον*, *ἔριον*: *εἶρος*, 'that which is made of wool,' i. e. woolen thread, cloth, etc., finally, by semantic syncretism with its primitive, even sheared wool. a) Singular: M 434; δ 124; Herod. 1. 203, 4. 162. b) Plural (cf. Lat. lanae): Γ 388; σ 316; χ 423. In Herod. 3. 47, 106, it is used of cotton. *κηρίον*: *κηρός*, 'that which is made of bees-wax,' 'honey-comb,'<sup>2</sup> naturally usually in the Plural because composed of different cells: Hes. Theog. 597; Herod. 5. 114. With distinct notion of individual cells in Arist. H. A. 9. 40. 623 b 33, πλάττουσι δὲ κηρία πρῶτον ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ γίνονται. The singular in Theocr. 19. 2. *σχαινίον*: *σχῆνος*, 'that which is made of rushes,' 'a rush rope.' That it is not a diminutive of its primitive, which sometimes occurs

<sup>1</sup> The form is puzzling; for *δορά* is an -a- stem, and we would expect *δόριον*. It is probably due to a kind of contamination, an already existing *δοράτιον*, which belongs to *δόρυ* 'spear,' being interpreted as coming from *δορά* because of similarity of sound.

<sup>2</sup> The honey is, of course, intimately associated with the comb, and might become the dominant idea, so e. g. H. Hom. Merc. 559, *Κηρία βέσονται*, and Hipponax 36. 3, *ἀττανίτας* (a kind of cake) *κηρίοισιν ἐμβάπτων*.



in the same sense, is shown by the fact that Herodotus (1. 26) uses it of a rope seven stades long, and that it constantly designates the cables of ships, sometimes modified by adjectives indicating great thickness: Ar. Pax 36, τὰ σχοινία τὰ παχέα συμβάλλοντες ἐς τὰς ὀκτάδας. Dem. 47. 20; CIA. 2. 807 c 101 (330 B. C.), σχοινία τριηρικὰ ὀκτωδάκτυλα IIII, ἐξδάκτυλα IIII. ib. a 114. Other occurrences, all without trace of diminutive meaning, are Herod. 5. 85; Ar. Ach. 22; Arist. Mir. 137. 844 b 5. Metaphorically Pind. frg. 248, δυσφύρων σχοινίων μεριμνῶν. γυκίων: φῶκος, 'that which is made of the rock-lichen,' 'rouge.' Luc. Hist. Consc. 8.

By analogy to σχοινίων σαυρόνιον is used for σάρδων 'the rope sustaining the upper end of the hunting net' in Xen. Cyn. 6. 9. The borrowed word ψιμ(υ)ρίδιον 'white lead,' used as an article of cosmetics, probably followed ψυκίων, if the late appearance of the latter in this sense is due merely to the accident of transmission.<sup>1</sup> The former occurs already in Ar. Eccl. 878, Plut. 1064; Plato Lys. 217 D.

#### XI. -ιον AS A SUFFIX OF POSSESSION.

102. By 'possession' I mean here not only personal ownership, as e. g. in οὐράνιος 'inhabiting or owning heaven' when applied to the gods (Aesch. Pr. 164, δάμναται οὐρανίαν γένναν), but also 'furnished with,' 'provided with,' and the like, as in the adjectives ἀστέριος 'starry' (ἀστερίη νύξ, Aratus 1. 695), κόνιος 'dusty' (ἐν κόνιᾳ χέρσῳ, Pind. N. 9. 43), or in substantives like ὀστράκιον 'the animal which is provided with a shell (ὄστρακον),' i. e. a mollusk, or in Arm. kaḥin 'oak,' 'that which is provided with acorns (kaḥin).' Cf. also Lith. masculines like plunksnis 'he who is adorned with feathers (plunksna).'

103. The rarity of Greek words in which this meaning is altogether predominant, indicates either that it was a mere remnant of an old inherited usage, or an offshoot from other meanings, and more probably the latter, because the use of the suffix in this sense is at least as rare in most other languages.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is all the more probable on account of Lucian's well known Atticistic tendencies, which always afford a strong presumption that a word occurring in him alone is borrowed from some old Attic source.

<sup>2</sup> The possessive meaning of -(i)io-, however, is frequent in Lithuanian, but not in the kindred Balto-Slavic languages. Cf. Leskien, Bild. d. Nom. 304. Lithuanian examples ib. 303 f.

104. Of the functions of -ιον so far discussed there are two particularly that have points of contact with the idea of possession, namely, its use in the meaning 'belonging to' or 'connected with,' and 'made of.' Whether a suffix in a given word should be interpreted as 'belonging to' or 'having,' depends largely upon whether the idea suggested by the primitive or derivative is the central one to the hearer. In case of some words or phrases there is, of course, no doubt possible. οὐράνιος ἀστήρ (Pind. P. 3. 135) was interpreted 'the star which belongs to heaven'; 'the star having heaven' could hardly occur to any one. On the other hand, it would be manifestly absurd to interpret ἕπειοι ἄνεμοι (Arist. Probl. 26. 7. 940 b 33) as 'the winds that belong to the rain (ἕπεος)' rather than 'the winds that are provided with' i. e. 'bring rain.' In some words, however, the interpretation of the suffix may vary according to which object is the central one in the mind. Thus in Goth. hairdeis 'herdsman,' 'he who belongs to the herd,' and Gr. βουκόλιον: βουκόλος, 'that which belongs to the herdsman,' 'herd,' the same suffix expresses directly opposite points of view of the same relation, and we might as well translate βουκόλιον as 'that which is provided with a herdsman.' Also on the border line are words like οὐράνιος when applied to the gods. οἱ οὐράνιοι could be either 'those who belong to heaven' or 'those who have,' 'dwell in,' or 'inhabit heaven.' In the oldest examples of this kind appurtenance was no doubt the original notion, but it could give way to the idea of possession whenever the concept represented or modified by the derivative happened to be the central one in the hearer's mind rather than the concept of the primitive as in the speaker's mind.

105. More important for the appellative neuters in -ιον is the connection of meaning between possession and material. A word meaning 'made of' a certain thing can be interpreted 'provided with' it if it is only partly composed of the material in question. Thus, while there can be no doubt in the interpretation of words like βιβλίον as 'made of βιβλος,' πλῖον 'made of πῖλος,' χρυσίον 'made of χρυσός,' since the articles so designated, respectively a papyrus roll, a felt cap, a golden vessel, are either altogether or practically so composed of the material in question, there is a possibility of double interpretation in certain words designating articles of food, as μελίτιον or πύανιον (§ 101 F). For μέλι 'honey' is not the only ingredient of μελίτιον, nor is πύανος the only ingredient of πύανιον. This possibility becomes still greater when the primitive is not necessarily considered as the one important constituent. We can not be certain how



γαστήριον was conceived, whether it was 'a dish made of the paunch' or 'a dish which has a paunch' on the outside of it. In certain words of this kind the material idea must have given way to the possessive idea, as can be seen by comparing τὰ ἄλμια 'salted provisions,' which could only have been conceived as 'that which is provided with salt'; for from the stand-point of mass salt is by no means one of the important constituents so as to allow the interpretation 'made of salt.' A similar transition perhaps in ἰνίον 'neck': ἴνες 'sinews.' While most naturally interpreted as 'that which has sinews' i. e. particularly strong sinews, it may have been originally conceived as 'that which is made of sinews,' since the latter as representing the great power of the neck may have suggested themselves as its principal constituent.

106. Like other formatives denoting possession<sup>1</sup> -ω- could occasionally be used in a pregnant sense, so that we can translate 'full of,' 'rich in,' and the like. So e. g. Ἄργος ἵππιος (Pind. I. 7. 17) 'Argos rich in horses,' with which we may compare the geographical name Αἴγιον: αἶξ, probably so named because of the frequency of goats in the neighborhood. Similarly λιβάδιον 'a meadow' is 'that which is well provided with streams (λιβάδες).'

107. Collection of examples. A. *Appellatives.* ἄλμια 'salted provisions': ἄλμη 'brine.' Men. frg. 4. 206 (5). ἰνίον 'neck': ἴνες 'sinews.' E 73; Ξ 495. ἰσθμίων: ἰσθμός, 'the vessel which has a neck' i. e. 'a long neck.' Athen. 472 E. καλάμιον: κάλαμος, 'that which is covered with reeds,' 'a thicket of reeds.' Thesaur. Paris. καρπίον: καρπός, 'that which has the fruit upon it,' 'branch.' Hes., καρπία: κλωνία.<sup>2</sup> κόμιον: κόμη, 'that which is provided with hair,' 'the scalp.' Schweigh. frg. Pyth. 713, ἐκδείρας τὰν κεφαλάν τὸ μὲν κόμιον πρὸ τοῦ ἵππου φέρει. λιβάδιον: λιβάς, 'that which is (well) provided with streams,' 'a wet place,' 'meadow.' Hes., λιβάδιον· χωρίον βοτανῶδες. ὀστράκιον: ὀστράκον, 'the animal which has a shell,' 'shell-fish.' Arist. Part. An. 1. 4. 644 b 10 (only Z, other mscs. have ὀστρεῖα); Strabo 823, ὀστρακίων δὲ κοιλίαι μεγάλοι.<sup>3</sup>

B. *Geographical names.* Αἴγιον: αἶξ, 'goat city,' in Achaëa (B 574), probably 'that which is frequented by goats.'<sup>4</sup> Μαρυάριον: μάρυκας,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 664.

<sup>2</sup> κλωνία is the most satisfactory conjecture made instead of the msc. κλονία.

<sup>3</sup> The adjective μεγάλοι disproves Liddell and Scott's classification of ὀστράκιον as a diminutive.

<sup>4</sup> The Greeks explained the name from the legend that Zeus was born here and nourished by a goat. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa s. v.

'that which is provided with (or consists of) shining rock,' a mountain in Euboea. Men. ap. Photius 247. 24. Πλημύριον: πλήμυρα, 'that which has many floods' or 'is frequented by floods,' a promontory in Sicily. Thuc. 7. 4. 4. Τειχίον: τεῖχος, 'that which has a (good) wall' or is 'well walled,' a city in Aetolia. Thuc. 3. 96. 2. For the idea of derivation cf. Τειχίεις, Τειχέσσα, etc. Φάκιον: φακός, probably 'that which is rich in lentils.' Thuc. 4. 78. 5.

## XII. -ων IN THE MEANING "BELONGING TO THE CATEGORY OR IDEA OF," "HAVING THE NATURE OF."

108. The transition from the meaning 'belonging to' in a physical sense to 'belonging to the category or idea of,' 'having the nature of,' is so natural and easy that both meanings are usually found side by side in the same formatives and same languages. Thus the latter meaning occurs in the following -(i)io- words of different Indo-European languages: Skr. nárya-s 'manly': nr- 'man,' dāivya-s 'divine': dēvá-s 'god,' Gr. κύκλιος 'circular': κύκλος 'circle,' παρθένιος 'like a maiden' (i. e. 'pure,' 'white,' etc.): παρθένος 'maiden' (cf. παρθένια μύρτα, Ar. Av. 1099), δαίμωνιος: δαίμων, in the meaning 'wonderful,' Lat. nefarius 'impious': nefas, Goth. wilpeis O. H. G. wildi 'wild': O. H. G. wild 'wild animals,' O. Blg. člověč, 'human': člověk 'man.'

109. In Greek adjectives of this kind the use of -ω-, just as in adjectives of material (§ 97) and various others (§ 16), was already in early times restricted by the encroachment of the conglutinate -ειω- in the same sense. By analogy to words like ἀστεῖος 'urbane': ἄστει (§ 15) 'city' arose ἀνδρεῖος 'manly': ἄνδρ-, οἰκεῖος 'home-like': οἶκος. The neuter substantives on the other hand are extremely numerous at all periods of the language, and this is to be explained by the fact that substantivized adjectives of this type on account of their concrete nature very easily cease to be connected in the mind with the adjectival uses of the suffix. Thus supposing an adjective \*πτερύγιος 'wing-like' had given rise to the neuter substantive πτερύγιον 'that which is wing-like,' i. e. 'a fin of a fish,' the latter word would soon be interpreted rather as 'a sort of wing' and thus lose all connection with the adjective. In this way -ων was used to form other substantives without intervening adjectives, and became primarily a substantive formative, as can best be seen by comparing such uses



as are derived from 'having the nature of,' namely the deteriorative and diminutive meanings, which have no corresponding adjectival uses at all. The pattern types of the neuter substantives, however, go back to a time when *-ειο-* and *-ιο-* in adjectives were used promiscuously in all inherited meanings of the latter. Finally a division of labor resulted: *-ιο-* had its principal realm in the meaning 'belonging to,' 'connected with,' while *-ειο-* encroached upon it in most other adjectives.

110. The prerequisite of the development of the meaning 'belonging to the category of' or 'idea of' from 'belonging to' is simply that the speaker should become conscious of the word itself rather than the object it represents. If we can translate 'belonging to,' the object designated by the primitive is suggested in its objective reality; *πατρία ὄσσα*, Pind. O. 6. 106, is the voice which actually belongs to the father, 'the father's voice.' If, on the other hand, we can translate 'belonging to the category of' or 'idea of,' the primitive is viewed as a logical or grammatical abstraction; so e. g. *τὰ ὀρνίθια* is 'the animals belonging to the notion 'bird.'"

111. This transition is facilitated by words of which the primitive always represents an idea or action rather than a physical object, i. e. by certain abstract nouns, in which case there may be no difference involved whether we translate one way or the other. *ἀθλήματα* (θ 108) 'athletic games' (: *ἀθλος*) could be indifferently conceived as 'the different actions belonging to the notion *ἀθλος* (prize contest)' or as 'the different actions belonging to an *ἀθλος*.' Similarly *θέσμοι*<sup>1</sup> 'laws,' 'customs': *θέσμος*, *θεσμός*, either 'the different rules that belong to and so compose the *θεσμοί*' or 'the different rules that belong to the notion *θεσμός*.' It occurs Herod. 1. 59; Soph. Aj. 712.

112. The idea 'having the nature of,' which passes over into 'being like,' is in part naturally derived from 'belonging to the category of,' in as much as the former is always implied by the latter, and the two ideas are only two sides of the same thing. For instance *τὸ θηρίον* 'that which belongs to the category of beast (θήρ)' is no less 'that which has the nature of a beast.' This becomes particularly evident, so as to almost force a change of interpretation, when a word is used in an unusual or metaphorical sense, as e. g. *θηρίον* when applied to a human being. *ὦ δειλότατον σὸ θηρίον* (Ar. Plut. 438) 'O you coward who really belong to the category of beast!' is exactly the same as saying 'O you beastly coward!' There are

<sup>1</sup> The singular *θέσμιον*, probably formed by hypostasis of the plural (cf. § 87 ff.); occurs Eur. Tro. 267.

also direct points of contact between the meaning 'having the nature of' and 'belonging to,' 'coming from,' 'made of.' An adjective meaning 'belonging to' can be applied to something that does not physically belong to the object designated by the primitive, but merely is a characteristic belonging to it. Thus Anacreon frg. 4, *ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων*, was 'O boy who lookest (a look) that really belongs to a maiden' i. e. 'a look belonging to the characteristics of a maiden,' in other words 'O boy who hast a maiden-like look.' Sometimes again the idea of descent, origin, or material will pass over into 'having the nature of'; for it is but natural to attribute a characteristic to inheritance, or to consider it as clinging to an object from its place of origin or from the material out of which it is made. This development occurs in the adjective *δαιμόνιος*, which is 'belonging to,' 'coming from,' or 'like a divinity' (cf. *δαιμόνιον τέρας*, Soph. Ant. 376; which is either 'a prodigy coming from a divinity' or 'a prodigy having the characteristics of a divinity,' i. e. terrible, wonderful). Similarly words derived from proper adjectives may develop the notion of a characteristic. *Σάρδια* sc. *κρόμμυα* 'onions coming from Sardis' can get the accessory notion 'of the Sardian kind,' which becomes dominant when the plant is grown in other places besides that from which its name is derived. This development must have been very frequent in case of articles of commerce. The idea of material, moreover, passes over into 'having the nature of,' 'being like,' by means of certain metaphorical and poetic conceptions, in which something that has the characteristics of an other object is conceived as made of it. Cf. *ὦ χρυσίον* 'my golden pet' (§ 251). Similar are certain color terms like Lat. *niveus*: *nix*, 'snowy,' i. e. 'white,' Gr. *κύανος* 'dark as *κύανος*,' originally 'made of *κύανος*.' Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 666 f.

113. In dealing with a group of meanings of such complex nature and origin it would be futile to try to follow out exactly the different threads of development; for the whole body of usages must have been completely confused in consciousness, particularly in case of adjectives, which, because of their use with a great variety of substantives, depend so largely upon their context for exact interpretation. But since an implication of a suffix, though accidental and unconscious in the adjective, becomes crystallized, as it were, in case of substantivation, it is possible roughly to divide the neuter substantives into two groups: The dominant (not exclusive) idea is (1) 'belonging to the category of,' (2) 'having the nature of,' 'being like.' The



latter, i. e. the one in which *-ων* has become the exponent of the similarity of the derivative to the primitive, will be discussed in the next chapter. The first group can be subdivided into two minor groups according to whether the *-ων* derivative was felt as a true substantive from the beginning or whether it was at first rather conceived adjectivally. A substantive is, of course, directly associated in the mind with the object it designates. When we hear the word 'dog' we at once think of the animal that bears that name without the interposition of the general notion 'animal' or of any other idea. In case of a word, however, which is felt as a substantivized adjective, some substantival notion must be suggested by the adjective, and the substantival notion in turn will call to mind the concept which the speaker desires to impart. When we hear some one speak of the 'right' we must first think of the concept 'hand,' and then the whole idea 'right hand' will be understood. It is this distinction which has given rise to two classes of words in which *-ων* was an exponent of the idea 'belonging to the category of.' Substantival from the beginning was e. g. *κογχύλιον* : *κογχύλη*, 'that which belongs to the category of mollusk,' "a member of the genus 'mollusk'". There is here no thought of a substantive that might have been originally modified by the *-ων* word, nor is there the general idea of a thing present. The use of the pronoun 'that' in my translation of such words is merely a necessity to bring in the idea of 'belonging to the category': in many cases we come nearer to a true translation by saying e. g. 'a kind of mollusk,' or, as above, "a member of the genus 'mollusk,'" for there is then no suggestion of adjectival force. Since, then, *κογχύλιον* was a true substantive from the beginning, it suggested its object directly without understanding e. g. the notion 'animal' or the like. It follows, in applying to it the translation 'belonging to the category,' that there are only two terms of classification: the single individual mollusk designated by the derivative and the category or genus 'mollusk' which is suggested for the stem of the primitive by the suffix *-ων*. The derivative, in as much as it represents an individual or species as belonging to a certain category or genus which is suggested by the stem of the primitive, causes the latter to be viewed as a generic term, whence I apply the word 'generalizing' to this use of *-ων*. It must be born in mind, however, that this name as well as 'specializing', as used below, refer to the point of view from which the primitive is viewed, and have nothing to do with the derivative. From the stand-point of the latter both

this and the following group are subordinating; for the very idea of designating an object or notion as belonging to a certain category implies that it is regarded as a more specific term than the category to which it belongs. Coming now to the second subdivision, the derivative must have been originally felt in an adjectival manner in words like O. H. G. *swīn*<sup>1</sup> (a substantivized neuter of an adjective corresponding to Lat. *suīnus* : *sūs*) 'a being belonging to the category of pig,' i. e. 'a pig.' The adjectival nature of the word originally required the interposition of some general idea like 'being' or 'animal' between the word and its object, and as a result there are three terms of classification involved: (1) the vague general notion of 'being' or 'animal' due to the substantivation of the adjective, (2) the class 'pig' suggested by the stem of the primitive, (3) the individual pig designated by the finished derivative. The same development is more tangible and more frequent when the *-ων* word arose by ellipsis. Thus in the phrase *σκόφιον δέπας*, 'a vessel belonging to the category σκόφος,' which becomes *σκούφιον* without change of semantic content, the three terms were: (1) the genus 'cup' originally expressed in the modified substantive *δέπας*, but embodied in the suffix *-ων* after substantivation, (2) the species *σκόφος* suggested by the stem of the primitive, (3) the individual *σκούφος* designated by the finished derivative. It is to be noticed that in each case the most general notion is the one suggested by the adjectival nature of the word, while the primitive is indeed a more general idea than the derivative, but is itself subordinate to the more general one implied by the substantivation, e. g. 'cup' is the genus and *σκόφος* the species. The effect of the suffix accordingly is to represent the primitive as a specific term, and I designate this as the 'specializing' use of *-ων*.

#### 1. *-ων* WITH GENERALIZING MEANING.

114. In its simplest form and the one in which it is closest to the idea of appurtenance, generalizing *-ων* is found when it designates an individual or number of individuals as belonging to a genus, e. g. *κογχύλιον* "that which belongs to the category or genus 'mollusk,'" *κογχύλια* a certain number of animals "belonging to the genus 'mollusk.'" The only distinction between primitive and derivative is that the speaker, in using the latter, is thinking of the animal as one of a

<sup>1</sup> Kluge, Etym. Wörterb.<sup>6</sup> s. v. Schwein, following Grimm, calls the word a diminutive, but without giving any reasons.



certain type, but when he uses the former he is usually thinking of a concrete example. It is evident that this slight distinction could very easily become effaced; for in most cases it would be totally indifferent whether an animal is designated as belonging to a genus or not, and the hearer would consequently often fail to follow the speaker's interpretation. In this way φαλάγγιον, originally an animal 'belonging to the genus φάλαγξ,' became completely equivalent to its primitive, and even became the preferred form because it had the more familiar declensional ending.

115. A derivative formed with generalizing -ιον may not only refer to an individual or number of individuals, but may itself be viewed as a generic term subordinate to the still more general idea of the primitive. By the common metonymy of representing a class by an individual κογχύλιον can be not only an "individual" but also a "species belonging to the genus 'mollusk.'" Similar is δένδριον in the well-known μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδριον ἀμπέλω (Alcaeus frg. 44) 'plant no other kind of tree before the vine.' This idea of 'a species or kind of' became so definitely attached to the suffix that a word in -ιον could even designate a single individual or number of individuals of a species of the genus designated by the primitive. Just as in English we may ask "What kind of an animal is this?" when we see a single specimen before us, so we find e. g. in Herod. 1. 119, εἶρετο δ' αὐτὸν ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα βιβρώσκῃ, 'he asked him of what kind of an animal (i. e. of one of what kind of an animal) he was eating the flesh.' This use was, of course, not separated in consciousness from that in which the species as a whole was referred to, and often no distinction in this respect can be made at all. In Herod. 3. 108, ὁ λαγὼς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, there is no distinction whether we translate 'by every species of animal' or 'by animals of every species.'

116. A particularly frequent use of generalizing -ιον is the one, usually in combination with the generic article or some adjective of totality, in which is designated the sum-total of individuals or species belonging to a genus. τὰ ἀράχνια denotes all the individuals or all the species "belonging to the genus 'spider.'" Since the important point in this case is merely to include everything belonging to the category, there will usually be no distinction made as to whether the different species or individuals are had in view, and it would be futile to try to classify all of the examples on this principle.

117. Sometimes the use of generalizing -ιον gave rise to a deriv-

ative with a sphere of application enlarged beyond that of the primitive, so e. g. θηρίον 'any animal': θήρ 'wild beast.' In as far as this is not due to causes affecting the single word, its origin is to be sought in the influence of the meaning 'having the nature of' etc. If θηρίον was at any time interpreted as 'something having the nature of a wild beast,' there would be implied a comparison with the primitive in some respects, but not in all. Since now the qualities compared, e. g. life, locomotion, etc., are shared by other animals besides those that could be designated by θήρ, the former could just as well be included in the designation θηρίον, 'that which has the nature of θήρ,' as the latter.

118. Collection of examples. I divide: A. animals, B. plants, C. things. Under each word the examples are classified as follows: a) Plural, usually with generic article, to designate the sum-total of species or individuals belonging to a genus; b) the idea 'a kind of' or 'species of' is prominent; c) individuals are designated as belonging to a class or genus, though this meaning is often faded, and the derivative is then completely equivalent to the primitive.

A. *Animals.* τὰ ἀράχνια: ἀράχνη(ς), "the members of the genus 'spider.'" All certain examples belong to a) Arist. H. A. 5. 27. 555 a 27, τὰ δ' ἀράχνια ὀχεύεται . . . τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον. ib. 9. 38. 622 b 22, εἰσὶ . . . τῶν ἀραχνίων οἰγλαφυρώτατοι καὶ λαγαρώτατοι καὶ τεχνικώτεροι περὶ τὸν βίον. ib. 39. 622 b 27, τῶν δ' ἀραχνίων καὶ τῶν φαλαγγίων ἐστὶ μὲν πολλὰ γένη, τῶν μὲν δηκτικῶν φαλαγγίων δύο. ib. 623 a 25, τῶν δ' ἀραχνίων τῶν γλαφυρῶν καὶ ὑφαινότων ἀράχνιον πυκνὸν δύο ἐστὶ γένη. id. Mot. An. 3. 9. 758 b 9, τὰ τῶν ἀραχνίων (sc. φά). τὰ βομβύκια, 'the members of the genus βόμβυξ.'<sup>1</sup> a) Arist. H. A. 5. 24. 555 a 13, Ἔνια δὲ τῶν βομβυκίων πρὸς λίθῳ, ἣ τοιούτῳ τινί, ποιοῦσιν πήλινον ὄξύ. θηρίον, 'animal species,' 'animal of any kind': θήρ 'wild beast.' a) H. Hom. Ven. 4, ἐδαμάσσατο φύλα καταδνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, Οἰωνούς τε δυπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα, Ἡμὲν ὅσ' ἵππειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδ' ὅσα πόντος. Arch. 88, Ὡ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, . . . Σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὄρας Λεωργὰ καὶ Θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων Ὀβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει. id. 89. 1, Πίθηκος ἔχει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς Μοῦνος. Herod. 2. 68, γλώσσαν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε (sc. ὁ κροκόδειλος), οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. . . . τὰ

<sup>1</sup> Since τὰ βομβύκια in its only occurrence designates the moth, we must assume that its primitive could also designate the moth as well as the silk-worm, even though the latter is the only meaning extant.



μὲν δὲ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖός οἱ ἐστὶ. Philemon frg. 4. 32 (2), Τί ποτε Προμηθεύς, ὃν λέγουσ' ἡμᾶς πλάσαι. Καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ζῷα, τοῖς μὲν θηρίοις ἔδωχ' ἐκάστω κατὰ γένος μίαν φύσιν; b) κ 171 (almost = κ 180), οὗ πως ἦεν ἐπ' ὤμου Χειρὶ φέρειν (sc. τὸν ἔλαφον) ἑτέρη· μάλα γὰρ μέγα θηρίον<sup>1</sup> ἦεν. Herod. 2. 47, Ἴν δὲ Αἰγύπτῳι μικρὸν ἦγγηται θηρίον εἶναι. id. 2. 66, φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον (sc. ὁ αἰέλουρος). id. 3. 16, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἐμψυχον. id. 3. 108, ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου. id. 3. 110, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν λίμνην) καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀυλίζεσθαι καὶ θηρία πετρωτά ('animals of a winged kind'), τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα. id. 4. 191, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριοι καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθει πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάφρευστα. Ar. Nub. 1286, ΑΜ. ἀλλ' εἰ σπανίζεις, τᾶργυρίου μοι τὸν τόκον Ἀπόδοτε. ΣΤΡ. τοῦτο δ' ἐσθ' ὁ τόκος τί θηρίον; id. Av. 69, Ἀτὰρ σὺ τί θηρίον ποτ' εἰ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν; Antiphan. frg. 3. 87, Οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν θηρίον τῶν ἰχθύων ἀτυχέστερον (notice plural ἰχθύων correlative with θηρίον). Sotades frg. 3. 586 (1. 26), Ἀρίαν τε χήραν θηρίον καλὸν σφόδρα. Phil. frg. 4. 3, Οἷε τι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν θηρίον Ἀνθρώπων; οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἄλλα σχήματι. Πλάγρ' ἐστὶ τᾶλλα, τοῦτο δ' ὀρεῖν θηρίον. Men. frg. 4. 214 (8), Πολλῶν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν θηρίων ὄντων, μέγιστόν ἐστι θηρίον γυνή. Arist. H. A. 8. 27. 605 b 14, ἄλλο θηρίον οἷον ὁ ἡπίολος ὁ περὶ τὸν λύχνον πετόμενος.<sup>2</sup> ib. 9. 40. 625 b 32, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα θηρία ἐν τοῖς σμήνεσι<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I translate: 'It was a large sort of beast.' Owing to the particular situation there is almost amplificative force present: "Es war ein grosses Untier." Classen, Fleckeisens Jahrb. 1859. 314, on the basis of this passage, declares that *θηρίον* designated a single animal in opposition to the genus. By this he did not mean that it designated a single animal as belonging to a genus, which would be correct for some cases (§ 114), but he was rather making an attempt to force it into the same pigeon-hole as *αἰτίον*, *χρυσίον*, and *ἀργύριον*, which, as we have seen § 101, were derived from the use of *-ιον* in adjectives of material, and *χωρίον*, which is probably hypostasized from an indefinite plural (§ 90). Of all these words he says that they designate "den einzelnen aus der Masse gesonderten Gegenstand." It is evident that this is merely a logical abstraction, and that the point of view was the desire to find some thread, no matter how slender, by which the whole group could be attached to the diminutive category. A similar idea, namely that diminutives are originally strengthened individualizations ("verschärfte Individualisierungen"), is now upheld for German diminutives by Wrede, Die Dim. im Deutschen p. 135. As to how such a shade of meaning should have gotten into the suffixes, however, we are left in the dark.

<sup>2</sup> Some have seized upon passages like these or like Arist. H.A. 9. 19. 552 b 11 (*γίνεται θηρία ἐν τῷ πυρί*), in which *θηρίον* is used of insects, and

('animals of the kind that develop in the hives') c) Herod. 6. 44, οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διεφθείροντο ἀρπαζόμενοι. Ar. Ran. 278, οὗτος ὁ τόπος ἐστὶν οὗ τὰ θηρία τὰ δεῖν' ἐφασκ' ἐκαῖνος. id. Lys. 1025, ἐγώ σου κἂν τόδε τὸ θηρίον τοῦπὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ λαβοῦσ' ἐξέλκων ἂν.<sup>1</sup> Arist. H. A. 9. 37. 621 a 17, συστρέφονται δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀμῖαι ὅταν θηρίον τι ἴδωσι. Theocrit. 25. 181, Εἰπέ δ' ὅπως ὀλοὸν τόδε θηρίον (i. e. a lion) . . . ἐπεφνες. κογχύλιον: κογχύλη, 'a species or kind of mollusk' etc. a) Arist. frg. 315. 1531 b 9, τροφῇ χρῆται ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν κογχυλίων σαρκιδίοις. id. De Plant. 1. 1. 816 a 10, καὶ τὰ κογχυλία εἰσι ζῷα, γνώσεως ἐστέρημένα. b) Epich. 42, ἄγει δὲ παντοδαπὰ<sup>2</sup> κογχύλια, Λεπάδας, ἀσπεδούς, κραβύζους, κυμβάλους, τηθύνια κτλ. Sophron 24, σωληνέες θῆν τοῦτοί γα, γλυκύχερον κογχύλιον. c) Arist. H. A. 8. 2. 591 a 1, οἱ δὲ πολυπόδες μάλιστα τὰ κογχύλια συλλέγοντες, ἐξαιροῦντες τὰ σαρκία τρέφονται τοῦτοις. ib. 5. 15. 547 b 7, διατρυνᾷ (sc. ἡ τῆς πορφύρας γλῶττα) τὰ κογχύλια καὶ τὸ αὐτῆς ὄστρακον. τὰ μαλάκια: τὸ μαλακόν (neuter of μαλακός, cf. § 41), the animals 'of the soft kind,' cf. the German 'Weichtiere.' a) Arist. H. A. 4. 1. 523 b 2, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀναίμων ζώων νῦν λεκτέον. ἐστὶ δὲ γένη πλείω, ἐν μὲν τὸ τῶν καλουμένων μαλακίων. ib. 6. 531 b 18, περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μαλακίων καὶ μαλακοστράκων καὶ ὄστρακοδέρμων . . . εἴρηται. ὀρνίθιον: ὄρνις, 'a kind or species of bird,' 'member of the bird family,' etc. a) Herod. 2. 77, ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὀρυγας καὶ τὰς νήσσας καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων ὠμά σιτέονται. Cratin. ap. Athen. 373 C, τᾶλλα πάντ' ὀρνίθια, 'all others of the bird tribe.' Arist. H. A. 9. 49. 633 b 6, ἴδιον δ' ἐνίοις συμβαίνει τῶν ὀρνιθίων τὸ ἀποφθεῖν, οἷον καὶ τοῖς τρυγόνιν. id. De Spirit. 6. 484 a 37, τῶν ὀρνιθίων γε καὶ τεμνομένων τὸ στήθος ἰχώρ, οὐχ' αἷμα. b) Arist. H. A. 9. 1. 609 a 16, τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὀρνίθια τὴν γλαῦκα περιπέταται, . . . καὶ προσπετόμενα τίλλουσιν. διὸ οἱ ὀρνιθοθήραι θηρεύουσιν αὐτῇ παντοδαπὰ ὀρνίθια. ib. 1. 1. 487 b 25, καὶ τῶν ὀρνιθίων εἰσὶ τινες κακόποδες, οἱ διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦνται ἄποδες· ἐστὶ δὲ εὐπτερον τοῦτο τὸ ὀρνίθιον. Combined with deteriorative meaning in Nicophr. frg. 2. 848, Ἀπερ' ἐσθίει ταυτὶ τὰ πονήρ' ὀρνίθια, Σέρφους

have assumed an original diminutive force of the suffix, in spite of the fact that it is much more frequently applied to large beasts, particularly in its earliest occurrences—it designates a deer and is modified by *μέγα* in the only Homeric examples (see above). This method of procedure needs no refutation. For apparent cases of deteriorative use see § 173.

<sup>1</sup> See foot-note 2 on p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> As is shown by the adjective *παντοδαπά*, *κογχύλια* is the generic term, and the other nouns are in apposition. The dictionaries are consequently wrong in taking *κογχύλιον* as a 'small kind of mollusk.'



ἴσως, σκώληκας, ἀκρίδας, πάρνοπας. c) Arist. H. A. 8. 4. 594a 17, ἐσθίει γὰρ (sc. ὁ ὄφις) καὶ ὀρνίθια καὶ θηρία, καὶ ὅα καταπίνει. τὰ παρδάλια: παρδαλις, "the members of the genus 'panther.'" a) Arist. H. A. 2. 11. 503b 5, ἔχει δὲ καὶ (sc. ὁ χαμαιλέον) μέλαιναν ταύτην (sc. τὴν χροιάν) οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν κροκοδείλων, καὶ ὁχρὰν καθάπερ οἱ σαῦροι μέλαν ὥσπερ τὰ παρδάλια διαπεποικιλμένην. σελάχιον: σέλαχος, 'a kind or species of the cartilaginous fishes'<sup>1</sup> etc. a) Athen 318 F, μαλάχια δὲ καλεῖται τὰ τευδιδώδη. σελάχια δὲ τὰ τῶν ἐρίων<sup>2</sup> φύλα. Luc. Lex. 6, τῶν δὲ ὑποβρυχίων τὰ σελάχια πολλὰ ('in great numbers') καὶ ὅσα ὀστρακόρινα κτλ. c) Plato Com. frg. 2. 634, Σὲ γὰρ γράῦ συγκατῶ- κισεν σαπρὰν Ὀρφοῖσι σελαχίοις τε φάγροις βοράν. Eupolis frg. 2. 428, πρῶ μιν σελάχιον. σκωλήκιον: σκώληξ, 'a kind or species of worm or grub' (usually diminutive). b) Arist. H. A. 5. 32. 557b 13, ἐστὶ δὲ τι σκωλήκιον ὃ καλεῖται ξυλόφθονον. ib. 25. 555a 19, Ὀχεύονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες καὶ τίκτουσι σκωλήκια. τὰ στρουθία: στρουθός, "the members of the genus 'sparrow.'" Arist. H. A. 9. 7. 613a 29, 33, λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν στρουθίων ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ζῆν τοὺς ἄρρενας, . . . τὰς δὲ θηλείας μακροβιότερας εἶναι τῶν στρουθίων. ib. 5. 2. 539b 33, ὁ ἄρρην ἐπιπηδῶν ὀχεύει τὴν θήλειαν, καὶ συγγίνεται ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ στρουθία ὀξέως. φαλάγγιον 'a kind or species of φάλαγξ (a venomous kind of spider),' cf. τὰ ἀράχνια. a) Plato Euthyd. 290 E, ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπωδῶν ἔχειν τε καὶ φαλαγγίων καὶ σκορπίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων τε καὶ νόσων κήλησις ἐστίν. Arist. H. A. 9. 39. 622b 27, see sub τὰ ἀράχνια. ib. 4. 11. 538a 27, ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυτόκοις καὶ τοῖς σκωληχοτό- κοις . . . ὅσον ὄφεις καὶ φαλάγγια καὶ ἀσκαλαβῶται καὶ βάτραχοι. ib. 5. 8. 542a 12, ποιοῦνται δὲ τὰ φαλάγγια τὴν ὀχρίαν τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. ib. 5. 20. 552b 26, οἱ δὲ σφήκες οἱ ἰχνεύμονες καλούμενοι . . . τὰ φαλάγγια ἀποκτείναντες φέρουσι. c) Arist. H. A. 9. 5. 611b 21, ὅταν δὲ διη- θῶσιν αἱ ἔλαφοι ὑπὸ φαλαγγίου. ib. 5. 27. 555b 16, ἐνίοτε δὲ τὸ πλῆθος γίνονται καὶ τριακόσια περὶ ἓν φαλάγγιον.

B. *Plants*. The comparative rarity of these may be due to the fact that -ιον was so productive in ordinary plant names in which it had other functions than the 'generalizing' (§ 255 ff.). δένδριον: δένδρον, 'a kind or species of tree.' b) Alcaeus 44, see § 115. Athen. 649 F, ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τοῦ σήματος δένδριον, ὃ ἐκαῖνοι κόνναρον ἐπονο-

<sup>1</sup> Erotianus Gloss. Hippocr. p. 348 (Σελαχίοισι τοῖς μικροῖς ἰχθυοῖς, ἢ τοῖς ὀστρακοδέμοις, οἷον καράβοις, καρκίνους, κήρυξι) is probably trying to interpret a word unfamiliar to himself. If he has good authority for his statement, the word must also have been used as a diminutive.

<sup>2</sup> For the unintelligible ἐρίων Kaibel suggests ξινῶν.

μάζουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δένδριον μεγέθει μὲν πετέλης καὶ πεύκης οὐδὲν τι μέϊον.<sup>1</sup> Thocr. 29. 12, Ποίησαι καλιὰν μίαν εἰν ἐνὶ δένδριῳ. ὄσπριον: ὄσπρος (Hes.), 'the members of the pulse family' etc. a) Plato Critias 115 A, ἔτι δὲ τὸν ἡμερον καρπὸν, τὸν τε ξηρόν, ὃς ἡμῖν τροφῆς ἐνεκά ἐστι, καὶ ὅσοις χάριν τοῦ σίτου προσχρώμεθα—καλοῦμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ μέρη ὄσπρια. Theophr. H. P. 8. 1. 1, τὰ δὲ χέδροπα, οἷον κύαμος, ἐρέβινθος, πίσος, καὶ ὅλως τὰ ὄσπρια προσαγορευόμενα. Galen. 314. 14, ὄσπρια ἐκεῖνα τῶν Δημητρίων σπερμάτων ἐξ ὧν ἄρτος οὐ γίνεται, mentioning as examples κυάμους, πίσους, ἐρεβίνθους, φακούς, etc. c) Alexis frg. 3. 507 (9. 6), οὐδενὸς γὰρ πώποτε Ἀπέβαλεν ὄσπριον λέπος. ῥίζιον: ῥίζα, 'a kind of root.' b) Ar. Av. 654, ἐστὶ γὰρ τι ῥίζιον, Ὁ διατραγόντ' ἐσεσθον ἐπτειρωμένω. φυκία: φύκος, '(the) plants belonging to the sea-weed family,' a wider term than φύκος, which is distinguished from βρύον Arist. H. A. 8. 20. 603a 17, Theophr. H. P. 4. 6. 2. a) Theophr. H. P. 4. 7. 3, χρῶμά φασιν ἔχειν ὅμοιον τοῖς φυκίοις. c) Archil. frg. Argent. 1. 7, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ [βυ]θοῦ φυκία πόλλ' ἐπέχει. Arist. H. A. 8. 2. 591a 22, τρέφεται δὲ πᾶς καστρεὺς φυκίοις καὶ ἄμμῳ. ib. 590b 11, φυκία νέμονται.

C. *Things*. ἀκόντια: ἄκων, 'everything in the nature of a spear,' and δοράτια: δόρυ, 'everything in the nature of a javelin,' Herod. 1. 34, ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι. καταχυσμάτιον: κατάχυσμα, 'a kind of sauce.' b) Pherecr. frg. 2. 299, Καὶ μὴν παρῆν τεμάχη μὲν ἐξωπτημένα, Καταχυσμάτιοι παντοδαποῖσιν εὐπρεπῆ. τὰ κελύφια: κέλυφος, 'everything in the nature of a shell' of a crustacean or shell-fish. a) Arist. H. A. 8. 37. 622a 7, ὅταν δὲ καταναλώσῃ (sc. ὁ πολύπους) τὰ χρησιμώτατα, ἐκβάλλει τὰ ὀστρακα καὶ τὰ κελύφια τῶν καρκίνων καὶ κογγυλίων καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ἰχθυοῦν. τὰ κιβώτια: κιβωτός, "whatever belongs to the category 'box'" (below combined with the idea of small size). a) Arist. Probl. 11. 28, 902a 37, Διὰ τί ἐνία ψοφεῖ καὶ κινεῖται ἐξαίφνης, οἷον τὰ κιβώτια, οὐδένοιο αἰσθητοῦ κινουντος; id. Audib. 802b 40, πάντες γὰρ οἱ βίαιοι (sc. ψόφοι) γίνονται σκληροί, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν κιβωτίων καὶ τῶν στροφέων, ὅταν ἀνοίγωνται βιαίως. κτένιον: κτεῖς, 'a kind of comb.' b) Poll. 5. 96, ἐνιοὶ δ' αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ ξάνιον) κτένιον εἶναι νομίζουσιν. κυλίχιον: κύλιξ, 'a kind of cup.' b) Epier. frg. 3. 372 (2. 1), Κατάβαλλε τάκτια, καὶ κυλίχια Αἴρου τὰ μεῖζω ('the larger kinds of cups'). Theophr. H. P. 5. 9. 8, ἐβλάστησε . . . εἰς κυλίχιον πλίνθινον τεθεῖσα κόπη ἐν πηλῷ. λεκάνιον: λεκάνη, 'a kind of dish.' b) Xen.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the tree referred to is said to be no smaller than an elm or fir-tree, makes impossible the common interpretation of δένδριον as a diminutive.



Cyr. 1. 3. 4, ὦ πάππε, ὅσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, εἰ ἀνάγκη σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάνια ταῦτα διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ('to apply your hand to all this great array of different kinds of dishes').<sup>1</sup> *λοπάδιον*: *λοπάς*, 'a kind of plate.' b) Poll. 10. 107, καὶ πατάνη καὶ πατάνιον τὸ ἐκπέταλον λοπάδιον. id. 6. 90, εἴη δ' ἂν ἡ πατάνη λοπάδιον ἐκπέταλον. *μάζιον*: *μάζα*, 'a kind of barley-bread.' b) Athen. 646 C, ΕΠΙΔΑΙΤΡΟΝ πλακουντῶδες μάζιον ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ ἐσθιόμενον. *περμάτιον*: *πέμμα*, 'a kind of sweet-meats or cake.' b) Athen. 645 E, ΕΓΚΡΙΔΕΣ περμάτιον ἐφόμενον ἐν ἐλαίῳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μελιτούμενον. *πλινθία*: *πλινθος*, 'the different kinds of brick-ware.' b) Thuc. 6. 88. 6, καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν περιτειγισμόν, πλινθία καὶ σίδηρον ἡτοιμάζον. *σχημάτια*: *σχῆμα*, 'kinds of figures in the dance.' b) Herod. 6. 129, ἐσελθούσης δὲ τῆς τραπέζης πρῶτα μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὠρχήσατο Λακωνικὰ σχημάτια, μετὰ δὲ ἄλλα Ἀττικά. *φλέβιον*: *φλέψ*, 'a kind of vein.' Arist. H. A. 3. 3. 514 a 19, αὐτὸς δ' ὁ ἐργάφαλος ἀναίμων πάντων ἐστί, καὶ οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα φλέβιον τελευτᾷ εἰς αὐτόν.

## 2. -ιον WITH SPECIALIZING MEANING.

119. As was pointed out § 113, the use of 'specializing' -ιον largely had its roots in adjectival phrases in which a denominative adjective with a suffix meaning 'belonging to the category of' was used with a generic substantive to distinguish one kind of a general conception from other kinds. Such a phrase, as well as the adjective after substantivation, refers to the very same object as the primitive, the only difference being that the phrase or substantivized adjective represents the object as belonging to a certain category of the general idea, and this slight distinction, as in case of the generalizing use, and for the same reasons (§ 114), could easily become effaced and leave a derivative substantive that does not differ from its primitive in any respect. This development is not a peculiarity of -ιον, but is also found in various other I. E. denominative adjectives. O. H. G. swīn, with I. E. -īno-, was mentioned § 113, but most frequently this seems to take place in words with a -k- suffix. Thus in Greek the adjective παρθενικός (: παρθένος) is found η 20 in the phrase Παρθενική ἐκυῖα νεήνιδι, "like to a young woman belonging to the category of 'maiden,'" i. e. 'like to a maiden,' νεήνις being the generic name for a young woman, whether married or unmarried. After the ellipsis of the accompanying substantive παρθενική is used

<sup>1</sup> Possibly with a deteriorative shade of meaning.

with no distinction from its primitive, so e. g. λ 39, Παρθενικαί τ' ἄταλαι νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι. In a similar way Skr. -ka- came to be a regular device for making derivative nouns of the same meaning as their primitives,<sup>1</sup> e. g. ástaka-m 'home' = ásta-m.

120. Since the modified substantive in the original adjectival phrase is usually quite superfluous, it is not surprising that substantivation of the adjective should take place most rapidly in the speech of every-day life, which is always averse to such cumbrous expressions, although poets might keep on using them for stylistic reasons. As a result it was very rarely that these short-lived combinations happened to be imbedded in literature before substantivation had taken place, so that we may expect large classes of substantives of this origin without direct trace of corresponding adjectives in contrast to a few sporadic occurrences of the adjectival phrases. Nevertheless, that such combinations with words in -ιο- also did actually occur, is not only made plausible by such related poetic circumlocutions as βίη Ηρακλείη (Hes. Theog. 332), but there is at least one passage which directly proves their existence: Stesich. 7, Σκύφιον<sup>2</sup> δὲ λαβῶν δέπας ἔμμετρον ὡς τριλάγυνον ἢ ἐπισχόμενος. Athenaeus (499 A), in quoting this passage, explains σκύφιον by σκυφοειδές, showing that even the later Greeks sometimes felt σκύφιον and words like it in an adjectival manner, and not necessarily as diminutives; for, if the latter were the case, the explanation of Athenaeus would be impossible, and he would have conceived of σκύφιον as in apposition with δέπας. Proof that names of vessels were substantivized from adjectives meaning 'of the kind of' is further gained by analogous examples of the conglutinate -ειον, which here as elsewhere encroached upon -ιον, and consequently always affords the presumption, when occurring in a certain use, that -ιον must in earlier times have shared the same meaning. In case of κελέβειον, which is equivalent to its primitive κελέβη, we have before our eyes the steps of its substantivation in two passages from Antimachus of Colophon quoted by Athenaeus 475 E. In one of them—Καὶ χρύσεια δέπαστρα καὶ ἀσκηθέος κελέβειον Ἑμπλειον μέλιτος—the adjectival force of κελέβειον is distinctly apparent, in as much as it is contrasted with the adjective χρύσειος: 'golden cups' are contrasted with 'a cup of the κελέβη kind.' In the preceding quotation, however, the substantivation is complete: ἀτὰρ ἀμφίθετον κελέβειον ἐλόντες Ἑμπλειον μέλιτος. For the adjectival nature

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Whitney, Skr. Gr.<sup>2</sup> 1222.

<sup>2</sup> σκύφιον is a metrically necessary substitution by Bergk for the msc. σκύφειον.



of these words we may also compare Θηρίκλειος sc. κύλιξ (Athen. 470 E ff.), though the -ειο- here had a different meaning. We may, then, assume with safety that when we find a group of words in -ιον which from the very beginning do not seem to differ from their primitives, but are related as designating particular kinds of a genus, and when alongside of them we find a neuter generic noun which may have suffered ellipsis in the pattern types, that substantivation of an original adjective in the manner described above has played a part. Thus we may account for ἀκάτιον : ἀκατος as originally ἀκάτιον πλοῖον, θερίστριον : θερίστρον as θερίστριον εἶμα, χερμάδιον : χερμάς as χερμάδιον βέλος, etc.

121. Between the time of substantivation—no matter whether it is due to ellipsis or to taking up with the adjective a vague general notion—and the time of complete equivalence of primitive and derivative there was a period when the adjectival, i. e. 'specializing' nature of the word in -ιον was still felt. As has been indicated above, the practical value of the 'specializing' use was to distinguish one kind of a generic conception from other kinds, and consequently the feeling for this meaning of the suffix must have been alive when the context makes it clear that the writer wished to contrast the species designated by the primitive either with the generic term suggested by the substantivized adjective, or with an other species of the same genus. Though we may not be certain in every individual instance, since the force of the suffix may have completely faded before the writing of a passage, and the situation in which the word is there placed may have been accidental, yet it is safe to say that in passages like the following the 'specializing' use of -ιον was originally appreciated. Thus in Herod. 1. 73 (ἐβουλεύσαντο τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυζάρη δοῦναι) the way in which the slaughtered child is prepared for the banquet is compared with the usual way of preparing τὰ θηρία, "beings that belong to the category of 'wild beasts,'" i. e. 'game.' Similar is the contrast between man and beast in Herod. 2. 36, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέριται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοισι ἡ δίαιτά ἐστι. In Arist. A. H. 5. 22. 554 b 1—κόπρον δὲ προῖεται (sc. ἡ σχιδὼν) ἕως ἂν ᾗ σκολήκιον—the larva state of an insect is contrasted with its grub state: "as long as it is an animal that belongs to the category of 'grub,'" i. e. as long as it is in the grub state. In the same work (5. 19. 550 b 31, γίνεται δὲ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἐντόμων) τὰ μὲν ἐκ ζώων τῶν συγγενῶν, οἷον φαλάγγια τε καὶ ἀράγνια ἐκ φαλαγγίων καὶ ἀραχνίων)

the two kinds of spiders are contrasted with other kinds of insects: "insects of the φαλάγγις and ἀράγνη(ς) kind." In A 265—Ἐγγεῖ τ' ἄορι τε μεγάλοισι τε χερμαδίοισιν—the collocation of three kinds of weapons can suggest an interpretation like the following: 'with spear and sword and large weapons of the stone (χερμάς) kind.' In Herodotus 7. 61 ff. the fact that he is continually describing the armor of different contingents of the army of Xerxes causes the mind to center on the idea 'weapon' etc., and consequently allows ἀκόντιον (: ἄκων) to be interpreted as 'a weapon or missile of the javelin kind' whenever it occurs. Particularly instructive is Thuc. 4. 120. 2, ὁ Βρασιδάς διέπλευσε νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Σκιώνην, τριήρει μὲν φιλίᾳ προσπλευούσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν κελητίῳ ἄπωθεν ἐρεπόμενος, ὅπως, εἰ μὲν τι τοῦ κελητός μείζονι πλοίῳ περιτυγχάνοι, ἢ τριήρης ἀμύνη αὐτῷ. In the principal clause the comparison of the trireme with the smaller boat suggests the general idea of 'vessel,' and so κελήτιον was felt as 'a vessel of the κελής type.' The use of μὲν and δέ shows that the two kinds of vessels were strongly associated and contrasted in the mind of the writer. Just below, however, when this antithesis is not sought for, he uses κελής, not κελήτιον. A few more examples will suffice: Eubul. frg. 3. 265 (7), Κνίδια κεράμια, Συκελικὰ βατάνια, Μεγαρικὰ πιθάνια, 'Cnidian vessels of potters' clay, Sicilian vessels of the βατάνη type, Megarian vessels of the πιθάνη type.' Dionys. H. 10. 17, αὐτὸς ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς σχίζουσι τὴν νειὸν βοῖδίοις ἀρίτων, περιζωμάτιον ἔχων, 'without χιτῶν, but with a garment of the περιζωμα kind.'

122. When there was no contrast between different species of the same genus, the 'specializing' or adjectival nature of the -ιον word quickly ceased to be appreciated; for even if the speaker still had it in mind, he would not often be followed by the hearer, since the distinction between primitive and derivative had lost all its practical value. Primitive and derivative then became totally equivalent: ἀκόντιον 'a missile of the javelin kind' became simply 'a javelin.' After one or more substantives with this meaningless -ιον had once come into existence, others of congeneric meaning could be attracted without themselves going through the same process: προβόλιον followed ἀκόντιον, σταμνίον followed σκυφίον or some word like it, etc. In most cases it will be impossible to say whether a word in meaningless -ιον ever had a 'specializing' meaning, or whether it is merely a product of congeneric attraction. In this way -ιον, like Skr. -ka- might have become a regular conscious device of poets to coin new words of the same meaning with their primitives, were it not for the fact that all



distinctly secondary derivatives in *-ων* seem in later Classical times to have had a rather vulgar or at least undignified flavor, which probably spread to the other classes from the deterioratives and diminutives (§ 274). As a result this class of words became confined to the language of every-day life and to prose, while serious poetry avoided them most sedulously.

123. This is, of course, only one of many ways in which a primitive and derivative can become identical in meaning. Besides the numerous cases of congeneric attraction in which a word took a meaningless *-ων* because attracted by some other word in which it did have a meaning (§ 252 ff.), there are words of the *οἶκίον* type (§ 87 ff.), those derived from adjectives of material (§ 100), those in which *-ων* has generalizing meaning (§ 114), or is exponent of the similarity of the derivative to the primitive (§ 139), and faded deterioratives (§ 165), diminutives (§ 217 ff.), and hypocorisms (§ 246 ff.). When a word is never found except in the very same meaning as its primitive, we may consequently often be in doubt as to how the identity of meaning has come about, and sometimes several different causes no doubt contributed, as we can say with certainty for *λοπάδιον* = *λοπάς*, 'plate,' which was in use both with the 'generalizing' and 'specializing' meaning. For practical purposes, however, it is best to place here all cases of identity of primitive and derivative of which the cause is unknown.

124. Sometimes the influence of congeneric words produced a distinction between an *-ων* word and its primitive in as much as the latter had diverse meanings, while the former had only the one which is related to the words which have attracted it. Thus *κύμβη* is not only a certain kind of cup or bowl, but also a knap-sack, wallet, or boat, while *κυμβίον* always designates a kind of cup, evidently being influenced by *ποτήριον*, *σκυφίον*, etc. Similarly the frequency of *-ων* words which designate ornaments gave rise to *ἀλύσιον* 'a chain' used as an ornament: *ἄλυσις* 'a chain' of any kind. Since the derivative in such a case is the more precise expression for the object it can designate, it easily becomes the preferred form, and the primitive may become very rare or even obsolete in the same sense. In this case the suffix would apparently have the force of expressing similarity (§ 132 ff.), even though the development of meaning is quite different from those words in which the suffix actually brought with it this meaning from the beginning. So *κυμβίον*, which became the current Attic word in the meaning 'cup,' may have been reinter-

preted as 'that which is like a boat' (*κύμβη*). Similarly *πλόκιον* 'neck-lace': *πλόκος*, 'curl,' 'wreath.'

125. In case both primitive and derivative existed alongside of each other with equal right, as e. g. *κυλίκιον* and *κύλιξ*, they were likely to become differentiated so that the *-ων* form was considered a diminutive (cf. § 221 ff.). There is often, of course, no way of telling whether the latter ever had any other than the diminutive meaning. Thus, while we may be quite sure that the diminutive use of *κυλίκιον* was secondary, *φιάλιον* may very well have been 'a little cup' from the beginning. It is impossible to separate diminutives from non-diminutives with certainty in every case; for when diminutives are applied to such things as cups, the idea of small size enters in its most objective manner, and will not often reveal itself by deteriorative or hypocoristic effects. A little help is given by inscriptions containing inventories of treasures in temples, as in Delos or the temple of Asclepius at Athens, where the weight of many individual objects is given. It is in this way that we learn that *φιάλιον* was carefully distinguished from *φιάλη*; yet this can not be conclusive evidence for all occurrences of the word; for the fixing of *φιάλιον* as 'a small cup' in the inscriptions may have been merely a technical trade regulation, just as in modern articles of commerce or scientific nomenclature distinctions unrecognized in ordinary speech are established or maintained, e. g. the difference between tornado and cyclone. That many words wavered between diminutive and non-diminutive interpretation, is shown e. g. by *κυλίκιον*, *λεκάκιον*, and *λεβήτιον*. It is, then, futile to try to reach certain conclusions for every word and every example, but in general one thing is clear: there are enough certain examples where the *-ων* word can not possibly have been a diminutive to throw utter discredit on the dictionaries and many grammatical authorities who invariably classify all of these words as diminutives. When an *-ων* word occurs in a context which is not decisive as to its meaning, there should not be the least presumption that it was diminutive.

126. The examples are divided, as usually, into congeneric groups, a division which in this case coincides with a division according to the generic idea which underlay the 'specializing' use of the suffix. Since the original meaning is apparent in only a small fraction of the passages, and since the more important of these have already been quoted above (§ 121), a mere citation will suffice in the list of examples below, unless I either quote a passage which conclusively proves non-diminutive usage, or give reasons for taking a word as



non-diminutive. The list will no doubt contain something that can not be classified with certainty, but indubitable diminutives belonging to these congeneric groups have been mentioned with all the other diminutives (§ 198 ff.).

127. A. *Words designating missiles.* Probably an ellipsis of βέλος 'missile' is at the basis of this group, a word which in the Homeric poems can designate darts, arrows, spears, or stones. ἀκόντιον: ἄκων, 'a missile of the javelin kind,' 'a javelin.' The derivative completely displaced the primitive except in poetry because the suffix -οντ- was an unusual one in words designating things, while -ιον brought it into the favorite declension. There is not the slightest indication that ἀκόντιον was ever a diminutive, in fact in the very first passage in which it occurs (H. Hom. Merc. 460), the translation 'a little javelin' would be ridiculous: for the great god Apollo is giving an oath by his ἀκόντιον: Ναὶ μὰ τὸδε κρανέεινον ἀκόντιον. Other examples: Herod. 7. 72 ff., Ar. Lys. 563; Thuc. 4. 34, 5. 65; Xen. Cyn. 9. 2; Antiph. 3 β 4; Plato Legg. 7. 794 C. δοράτιον: δόρυ, 'a missile of the spear kind,' 'a spear.' While also found in the 'generalizing' meaning (§ 118 C) and as a diminutive (§ 185), it was probably 'specializing' and certainly not diminutive in Ar. Pax 553 and Mnesimachus ap. Athen. 421 C, passages which refer to the instruments of war in general. It seems to be completely equivalent to its primitive in Thuc. 7. 84. 3. προβόλιον 'a missile of the πρόβολος kind,' 'a hunting spear.' Xen. Cyn. 10. 3; Hyp. frg. 170 (ap. Harpoer.). χερμαδίων 'a missile of the χερμάς kind,'<sup>1</sup> a stone used as a missile. Diminutive origin and usage is clearly out of the question, not only because the word occurs in Homer, who does not yet know any diminutives in -ιον, but because the context usually shows that it designated particularly large stones: A 265, μεγάλοις τε χερμαδίοισιν. II 774, Πολλὰ δὲ χερμαδία μεγάλ' ἀσπίδας ἐστυφείλιζαν. E 302, ὁ δὲ χερμαδίον λάβε χειρὶ Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρες φέροιεν, Οἷσι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσ'. κ 121, ἀνδραχθῆσι χερμαδίοισιν. φ 371; Tyrtaeus 11. 36, μεγάλοις βάλλετε χερμαδίοις.

128. B. *Words designating boats.* An ellipsis of πλοῖον may have caused the existence of these words. We may compare ἱππαγωγοί (Ar. Equ. 599) 'transport vessels' beside ἱππαγωγοὶ νέες (Herod. 6.

<sup>1</sup> That χερμαδίων was felt adjectivally even by the later Greeks, is shown by the phrase μολύβδαινα χερμαδίου (Luc. Lex. 5). Since there is no evidence of the existence of an adjective χερμαδῖος between Homer and Lucian, the latter derived it from χερμαδίων.

95), and ἡμιόλιον (sc. πλοῖον) 'a vessel with one and a half banks of oars' (§ 53), which is undoubtedly derived from the adjective ἡμιόλιος. The only words which belong here are ἀκάτιον (Thuc. 1. 29. 3, 4. 67. 3) 'a boat of the ἄκατος type,' and κελήτιον (Thuc. 1. 53. 1, 4. 120. 2) 'a boat of the κέλης type.' The primitive itself in both cases designates a small kind of vessel. That similar derivatives are not found from names of the larger kind of vessels is probably merely accidental, in as much as these are very rare words, and their transmission rather than of others was due merely to the fact that Thucydides had used them. It is, however, not impossible that the influence of diminutives prevented -ιον words designating larger vessels from gaining currency.

129. C. *Words designating cups, vases, vessels, etc.* The origin of σκυφίον out of the phrase σκύφιον δέπαε, as attested by Stesichorus (cf. § 120), makes it highly probable that many other names of vessels in -ιον arose in a similar way, and that neuter generic words like δέπαε, ἄγγος, ἄγγειον, or ποτήριον were largely the cause of their existence. This does not, however, mean that all names of vessels in -ιον which do not differ from their primitives in meaning arose in this way; for in a large number of those that differ from their primitives the suffix had various other meanings than the 'specializing' (cf. § 260 C), and it will usually be impossible to decide which of the numerous heterogeneous models a word of the same meaning as the primitive has followed. For practical reasons it is best to group all of these words here, particularly since the 'specializing' use itself most easily resulted in a meaningless suffix, and so was undoubtedly the most potent factor in attracting congeneric words.

a) With primitive in existence. βατιάνιον 'a vessel of the βατάνη kind,' probably < πατάνιον.<sup>1</sup> Antiphan. frg. 3. 51; Alexis frg. 3. 394; Eubul. frg. 3. 223, 265 (7). βατιάκιον 'a vessel of the βατιάκη kind,' a kind of cup. Philemon ap. Athen. 497 F. κακκάβιον 'a vessel of the κακκάβη type,' 'a three-legged pot.' Eubul. frg. 3. 223. κυάθιον 'a vessel of the κύθος type,' a kind of cup. Pherecr. ap. Poll. 6. 105. κυμβίον 'a cup of the κύμβη or κύμβος type,' a small boat-shaped kind of cup, cf. Athen. 481 D, κυμβία τὰ κοῖλα ποτήρια καὶ μικρὰ Σιμάριστος, . . . φησὶ δὲ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐπίμηκες εἶναι τὸ ποτήριον καὶ στενὸν τῷ σχήματι παρόμοιον πλοῖον. The conclusion which might be drawn from this, namely, that κυμβίον was originally con-

<sup>1</sup> For the change of the initial voiceless to a voiced explosive cf. Vasmer, Byz. Zeitschr. 16. 544 ff.



ceived as 'that which is like a boat' rather than 'a cup of the κύμβη type,' is not at all a probable one; for κύμβη itself occurs in the meaning 'cup' as well as 'boat' (cf. Athen. 483 A), and the former is shown to be the older meaning by the related Skr. kumbhā-s 'jar,' 'funeral urn,' etc. That κυμβίον designated a small kind of cup is attested by inscriptions no less than by Athenaeus, so e. g. in the Delian one of Michel 833, where (l. 107) four κυμβία weigh 158 drachmas, or have about the same weight as the φιάλια, while the φιάλια each weigh 100 dr. or more. Similarly in CIA. 2. 835 c-l 64 a κυμβίον of eight drachmas and four obols is mentioned. This does not, however, imply that it was originally a diminutive formation, for κύμβη when used of cups also designated a small kind, as we know from the fact that Hesychius explains it by ὀξύβαρον. Moreover, the subsequent quotations of Athenaeus show that usage was not at all fixed, and Dionysius of Samos used it as synonymous with κισσύβιον, to which Athenaeus objects that the latter was not a small cup; for in the passage referred to (i 346) it designates the cup given by Odysseus to the monster Cyclops, and by three doses even he is overcome. κυμβίον seems to also suggest a large quantity in Anaxandr. frg. 3. 162 (2), Μεγάλ' ἴσως ποτήρια Προπινόμενα καὶ μέστ' ἀκράτου κυμβίη Ἐκάρωσεν ὕμῃς. Other examples: Ephipp. frg. 3. 328; Alexis frg. 3. 383; Epigenes frg. 3. 539; Philemon frg. 4. 29; Hipparch. Com. frg. 4. 431; Dem. 21. 158; CIA. 2. 766. 15 (after 344 B. C.). λεβήτιον 'a vessel of the λέβης type,' the basin into which the purifying water was poured; given as a diminutive by Michaël Syngelos ap. Cram. Anec. 4. 273. 11 (cf. § 125), but that was probably not the usual meaning, as is shown by Poll. 6. 92 and 10. 76, ἔξεστι δ' αὐτὸ καὶ λέβητα καὶ λεβήτιον καλέσαι. Other examples: Anaxipp. 4. 465 (1); CIA. 4. 2. 700 b 29, μὲν γὰρ λεβήτι[α] III, με[γάλα] ib. 2 add. 682 c 16 (ab. 356 B. C.); Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 124 (279 B. C.); Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 167 (ab. 180 B. C.). λεκάνιον 'a vessel of the λεκάνη type.' So Polyzelus ap. Poll. 10. 76, Ar. Ach. 1110. λοπάδιον 'a vessel of the λοπάς kind,' 'a flat earthen vessel,' 'a plate.' Ar. Plut. 812; Alexis frg. 3. 470 (l. 7), 430 (l. 22); Axionicus frg. 3. 535 (3); Eubul. frg. 3. 207 (l. 3), 223; Men. frg. 4. 206. πατάμιον 'a vessel of the πατάμη kind,' = βατάνιον. Eubul. frg. 3. 223, 228. πατέλλιον 'a vessel of the πατέλλα (< Lat. patella) type.' Poll. 6. 90. πιθάκιον (Att. γιδάκιον)<sup>1</sup> 'a vessel of the πιθάκη (φι-

<sup>1</sup> For the relation of the two forms cf. Fick, KZ. 22. 105.

δάκη) type.' Eubul. frg. 3. 265; CIA. 2. 807 b 114 ff., ὑπαλοιφή ἐν φιδακνίῳ μέλαινα· ἐτέρᾳ ἐν ἀμφορεῖ μέλαινα· ἐτέρᾳ λευκῇ ἐν φιδακνίῳ· ἐν ἀμφορεῖσι δὲ οὖν λευκῇ. Since this is a catalogue of naval stores, ὑπαλοιφή is 'grease,' not 'ointment.' That this should have been kept in particularly 'little jars' is, of course, not to be thought of. σκαφίον 'a vessel of the σκάφη type.' Since its primitive σκάφη could also designate a boat, there is the possibility, as in case of κυμβίον, that σκαφίον was conceived as 'that which is like a boat.' A living diminutive function of the -ιον is not to be sought for, since σκαφίον has almost completely displaced its primitive in Attic inscriptions. Nevertheless the vessels so designated, like the κυμβία, were often small ones. In the Delos inscription of Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588 there are mentioned e. g. six σκαφία of 60 dr. each (l. 64 ff.). Two in l. 28 weigh 90 dr., and one in CIA. 2. 836 c-k 27 weighs 51 dr. Other examples in which σκαφίον designates a bowl, basin, or chamber pot are: Ar. Thesm. 633; Eupol. frg. 2. 441; Theophr. C. P. 4. 16. 3; Lycophr. ap. Athen. 501 E; Athen. 142 D; Poll. 10. 45; Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 99, 145. It is used metaphorically of the skull in Ar. frg. 2. 1182 (24); of a certain fashion of hair-cutting Ar. Av. 806, Thesm. 836. σκαφίον 'a cup of the σκάφος kind.' Athen. 477 F. σταμνίον 'a vessel of the στάμνος type,' 'a wine jar.' Ar. Lys. 196, 199; Men. frg. 4. 108 (3. 2); Plato Ep. 13. 361 A. χυτρίδιον 'a vessel of the χυτρίς kind,' 'a pot.' Ar. Ach. 1175; Alexis frg. 3. 494; Arist. Mir. 141. 845 a 5. χυτρίον 'a vessel of the χύτρος (χύτρος) kind,' a variant reading of the Bodleian Msc. for χυτρίδιον in Ar. Ach. 1175. Hesychius has χυτρίου τοῦ κρανίου, with which cf. σκαφίον in the same sense.

b) -ιον takes the place of an other suffix. The fact that such a multitude of names of vessels end in -ιον, and that the suffix originally had a variety of different meanings in different words of this congeneric group, brought about the result that it lost most of the color it had when the words were formed, and appeared merely a suffix for names of vessels, so that new words of this kind would be formed merely by analogy to the older ones without regard to the relation of primitive and derivative. As a formal indication that this stage had been reached, there exist, in the first place, a few words in which -ιον has displaced -ιδ- instead of being added to it. Both suffixes could form names of vessels and were therefore felt as equivalent in this use (§ 17). Consequently the more frequent one encroached upon the less frequent, and so we find ἰδυπότιον (Crat.



Jun. ap. Athen. 469 C: CIA. 2. 836 c-k 35 (270-262 B. C.) instead of ἡδυποτίς, κάλιον (Athen. 475 C) instead of κάλις.<sup>1</sup> σκαλλίον (Athen. 498 A) instead of σκαλίς does not belong here, but rather comes from a primitive σκαλλόν, which is found in Hesychius; or otherwise we must assume a by-form σκαλλίς with double λ.

c) Words without primitive in existence. There is still further evidence of -ιον as a vessel-designating suffix in the existence of a number of such words of unknown etymology.<sup>2</sup> Some of these, of course, may have had a primitive which is accidentally not quotable, but there are too many of them to attribute all to this cause, and some have a decidedly un-Greek appearance, and were undoubtedly foreign words, which were fitted out with -ιον because that suffix would inevitably suggest itself as the ending to take the place of the unfamiliar foreign ending in words semantically related to such a large group of Greek words. That the suffix here should have had diminutive meaning is out of the question; for there is nothing to diminish when the form without the -ιον never made its way into the Greek language. The oldest of these words, moreover, are much older than the diminutive use of -ιον, κισσύβιον already occurring in the Odyssey, and καρχήσιον in Sappho. Examples: καρχήσιον<sup>3</sup> (καρχάσιον), Sappho ap. Athen. 475 A; Callix. ib. 474 E. κανκίον (onomatopœetic), Schol. Theocr. 1. 27, κισσύβιον . . . κανκίον ξύλινον ποιμενικόν. κιβώριον, Athen. 477 E. κισσύβιον, a kind of rustic cup made of wood. ι 346; ξ 78; π 52; Theocr. 1. 27. κρατάνιον, Polemon ap. Athen. 479 F. λαβρώριον, also -ιος-, -ια, originally an adjective (sc. κύλιξ etc.). Men. ap. Athen. 484 C. τριβλίον, Ar. Equ. 905, Av. 361; Crat. frg. 2. 235 (2); Eubul. frg. 3. 223; Axionicus frg. 3. 535 (3).

130. D. Words designating articles of dress or ornament. What has been said of the diverse origin of the words in -ιον designating vessels, may be said of this group also. There is the same variety of cause of formation, the same wavering between diminutive and non-diminutive meaning, and consequently the same uncertainty as to the origin and meaning of many a word. But we may safely assume that the same principles of ellipsis and subsequent attraction of

<sup>1</sup> Possibly, however, the rare and late κάλιη is the direct primitive of κάλιον.

<sup>2</sup> We may, of course, reject such guesses as that κισσύβιον is related to κισσός, or λαβρώριον to λαβρότης (Athen. 477 D, 484 C). Any credible etymology should be able to explain the suffix no less than the root.

<sup>3</sup> The relation to the meaning 'mast-head' is obscure.

congeneric words were at work here also, and so refer many an -ιον word designating a garment to the ellipsis of generic words like εἶμα, ἔσθημα, or ἱμάτιον; or those designating foot-wear to the ellipsis of ὑπόδημα. We may further conclude that the existence of congeneric words like ἱμάτιον, ἀκροσφύριον, etc., with an -ιον of originally different meaning, was a powerful factor in the spread of the suffix in the group; and finally, we may cite the formation of words of unknown etymology like βερβέριον and their early occurrence as proof that the class did not originate as diminutive.

a) Garments, robes. ἀλουργίδιον 'a garment of the ἀλουργίς kind,' 'a purple robe.' Insc. Att. CIG. 155. 56. ἀμπερόνιον 'a robe or shawl of the ἀμπερόνη kind.' Poll. 7. 49; Hes., ἀμπερόνη λεπτόν ἱμάτιον. ἀμπερόνιον ὁμοιον. βερβέριον (of unknown etymology), 'a shabby garment.' Anacr. 21. 3. διπλοίδιον 'a garment of the διπλοῖς kind,' 'a double cloak.' Poll. 7. 49. θερίστριον 'a garment of the θέριστρον kind,' 'a light summer garment.' Eubul. frg. 3. 254 (8); Theocr. 15. 69. κροκώτιον 'a garment of the κροκωτός kind,' 'a saffron-colored robe,' mentioned as equivalent to its primitive by Poll. 7. 48. λήδιον 'a garment of the λήδος kind.' Poll. 7. 56, καὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν λήδος λήδιον ληδάριον. Men., see ad Etym. M. 563. 32, Λήδιον τὸ τριβώνιον. Μένανδρος. Clearch. ap. Athen. 256 F; Machon ib. 582 D; CIA. 2. 756. 23 (346-343 B. C.). λώπιον 'a garment of the λώπη kind,' 'a cloak.' Aristotle expressly states that it is equivalent to ἱμάτιον, and thus shows that it is not a diminutive: Topic. 1. 7. 103a 10, 6. 11. 149a 4, Metaphys. 3. 4. 1006b 26, τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ εἶναι ἔν, ὡς λώπιον καὶ ἱμάτιον, εἰ δὲ λόγος εἴς. Cf. also Insc. Epidauros Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 803. 127. παραλουργίδιον 'a garment of the παραλουργίς kind,' 'a robe tinged with purple.'<sup>1</sup> CIA. 2. 756. 31. περιζωμάτιον 'a garment of the περιζωμα kind,' 'an under garment.'<sup>2</sup> Dionys. H. 10. 17. ῥάκιον 'a garment of the ῥάκος kind.' Both primitive and derivative designate a ragged, tattered garment.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore not impossible that ῥάκιον was a deteriorative in origin, although an examination of the passages in which it occurs will not show that the deteriorative element was any more conspicuous than in the

<sup>1</sup> The primitive in this meaning Poll. 7. 56.

<sup>2</sup> The primitive in this meaning Polyb. 6. 25. 3.

<sup>3</sup> I refer here only to the literary Attic, for the reason that the -ιον forms which I have found occur in Attic literature, and must be judged from the literary Attic primitive. Dialectically and in Attic inscriptions ῥάκος is sometimes without any deteriorative shade of meaning.



primitive. It is also possible that *ῥάκιον* was conceived as a garment 'made of rags'; for *ῥάκος* can designate a rag of any kind, not only a ragged garment. It occurs Ar. Ach. 412, Vesp. 128, Pax 740, Ran. 1063, 1066. *τριβώνιον* 'a garment of the *τριβών* kind,' 'a worn garment,' 'a coarse cloak.' As in case of *ῥάκιον* there is a deteriorative element, which may have been emphasized by the suffix, but more probably comes entirely from the primitive. Ar. Vesp. 33, 116, Plut. 714, 897, 935; Men. frg. 4. 96 (2); Lys. 32. 16; CIA. 2. 754 22 (349-344 B. C.). *γαινόλιον* 'a mantle of the *φανώλης* kind,' 'paenula.' Oxyr. Pap. 3. 531. 14. *χλαμύδιον* 'a robe of the *χλαμύς* kind,' a short kind of mantle. Antidotus frg. 3. 528 (1); Men. frg. 4. 200; Plut. Rom. 8. *χλαρίδιον* 'a garment of the *χλαρίς* kind,' 'a woolen mantle.' Herod. 1. 195; Eur. Or. 42, Suppl. 110; Chaeremon frg. 14. 9; Trag. Adesp. 7; Ar. Lys. 1190. The fact that Euripides twice uses the word in his serious dramas, while on the whole the tragic poets are zealously on their guard, not only against real diminutives, but also against words like *θηρίον* which seem to have had a slight colloquial flavor because of their suffix, shows how remote a diminutive idea must have been to him. The attempt to rescue the diminutive by declaring it is usually used of women's mantles, is also not born out by fact; for in the first three of the six passages cited it certainly refers to men's garments.

b) Foot-wear. *βαρκίδιον* 'a shoe of the *βαρκίς* kind,' a kind of woman's shoe. Poll. 7. 94, αἱ δὲ βαρκίδες καὶ βαρκίδια ἐλέγοντο· πολυτελὲς δ' ἦν ὑπέδημα χρυσοειδές. *βλαντίον* 'a slipper of the *βλάντη* kind.' Ar. Equ. 889; Aristod. ap. Athen. 338 A. *ἐμβάδιον* 'a shoe of the *ἐμβάς* kind.' Ar. Vesp. 600, Plut. 847, 941. *σάνδαλιον*: *σάνδαλον*, 'a shoe of the sandal kind,' 'a sandal.' That it was not a diminutive is shown by Herod. 2. 91 (*σινδάλιον* τε . . . ἐὼν τὸ μέγαθος δίπληγρον), where the *σινδάλιον* is two cubits long, and by Poll. 7. 87 (ἡ δὲ βλάντη σινδάλιου τι εἶδος), where it is used as a generic term. It also occurs in Cratinus, Cephisodorus, and Menander ap. Poll. 7. 86 f.; Theopomp. Com. ib. 10. 49; Antiphan. frg. 3. 103; Insc. Pergam. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 754. 6.

c) Miscellaneous. The words in *-ιον* which designate smaller articles of dress or ornaments are particularly perplexing; for, on the one hand, it is hard to find neuter generic words the ellipsis of which could have caused the original *-ιος*- adjective to become substantivized, on the other hand it is particularly difficult to separate diminutives and hypocoristic words from non-diminutives; for the idea

of nicety, prettiness, and the like is continually associated with ornaments even without any diminutive suffix, and could easily be emphasized by the addition of *-ιον*. Nevertheless the existence of words without primitive, like *φέλιον* 'bracelet,' shows that the whole category was not diminutive in origin, nor felt as diminutive at the time of its formation. It is probable that the *-ιον* spread from larger articles of dress, such as robes and shawls, to smaller ones, such as girdles, and from these it is a small step to necklaces, bracelets, etc., and finally even to small ornaments like rings and jewels. The whole group, accordingly, arose by congeneric attraction, and a living 'specializing' use of the suffix is not to be sought. *ἀλύσιον*: *ἄλυσις*, 'a chain.' Men. frg. 4. 145 (3); Philipp. frg. 4. 477; CIA. 2. 835 c—1 18 (320-317 B. C.). *ζώνιον*: *ζώνη*, 'girdle.' Ar. Lys. 72; Arist. Mirab. 32. 832 b 23 (of the girdle of a wine-merchant). *περισκελίδιον*: *περισκελὶς*, 'anklet.' CIA. 2. 835 c—1 47 (320-317 B. C.). *πλόκιον*: *πλόκος*, 'necklace.' Plut. 2. 141 D; Poll. 5. 98. *στρόφιον*: *σπρόφος*, 'a band worn by women around the breast.' Pherecr. frg. 2. 296 (1); Ar. Thesm. 251, 638, frg. 2. 1078 (6); Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 586. 19 (beginning of fourth century B. C.). *σφραγίδιον*: *σφραγίς*, 'seal-ring.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 43, 49 f.; CIA. 2. 766. 26. *σφραγίδιον* may be a diminutive CIA. 2. 835 c—1 72, where it is distinguished from *σφραγίς*: *σφραγίδες ὑάλιναι* |||· *σφραγίδιον*, ἐν ἀετρός· *σφραγίς* [ἄ]σημος κατεα[γυῖα]. For a case of deteriorative use see § 161. *χλιδώνιον*: *χλιδών*, 'bracelet' or 'anklet.' CIA. 2. 708. 8 (after 340 B. C.). In addition there are at least two words of unknown origin: *λεγγούριον*, a kind of stone.<sup>1</sup> Theophr. Lap. 31; CIA. 2. 835 c—1 69 (320-317 B. C.); Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 49. *ψέλιον*. 'bracelet' or 'anklet.' Herod. 4. 168, 9. 80; Xen. An. 1. 2. 27.

131. E. *Miscellaneous*. All other words which might be supposed to be an outgrowth of the 'specializing' use of *-ιον* are more or less doubtful, since any word which is equivalent to its primitive may have received its suffix by attraction of some other word which is lost or has escaped notice. Most could be said for the assumption that two names of musical instruments, *λύριον* (Ar. Ran. 1304)<sup>2</sup> = *λύρα*, 'lyre,' and *γοινίχιον* (Arist. Probl. 19. 14. 918 b 8, Διὰ τί λην-ὄναι τὸ διὰ πασῶν, καὶ δοκεῖ ὁμόφωνον εἶναι οἶον ἐν τῷ γοινικίῳ καὶ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BCH. 1882, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> The word is put into the mouth of Aeschylus, and so can hardly be a diminutive, since Aristophanes otherwise represents him as grandiloquent and even bombastic.



τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ)<sup>1</sup> = φοῖνιξ, are due to the ellipsis of the generic word ὄργανον '(musical) instrument.' It is nevertheless equally probable that these words received their suffix by the influence of some instrument noun in -ιον (§ 71 ff.). Totally uncertain are certain names of bags, sacks, baskets, or boxes, which may have been felt as congeneric to names of vessels, and so received their suffix. So perhaps σακίον 'sack,' which may have been equivalent to σάκος in Ar. fig. 2. 1083 (Σακίον, ἐν ᾧσπερ τὰργύριον ταμιεύεται), but which can be interpreted as a diminutive here as elsewhere (§ 185). Similar is ἄσκιον (Hipp. 403, 424, 427, 491): ἄσκος, for which the context is perfectly insufficient to decide whether it was always or sometimes or never a diminutive. Since, however, it seems to be a deteriorative in Plut. Artax. 12, it seems safer to refer the uncertain examples to the diminutive use. Certainly equivalent to their primitives are καλάθιον: κάλαθος 'basket,' (Poll. 10. 125), τάλαιον: τάλαρος 'basket' (id. l. c.), and κιβώτιον: κιβωτός, 'a box,' in Ar. Plut. 711 f.; Xen. An. 7. 5. 14; Arist. Metaphys. 7. 2. 1042 b 18; Theophr. H. P. 5. 7. 5. The last may, however, be due to a fading of the 'generalizing' meaning as well as to the analogy of names of vessels (§ 118 C). Finally, the question may be asked how far such plant names in -ιον as are equivalent to their primitives (§ 258) are due to the ellipsis of some generic word like φυτόν 'plant.'

### XIII. -ιον IN THE MEANING "THAT WHICH IS LIKE, BUT NOT EQUIVALENT TO THE PRIMITIVE."

132. When a derivative designates an object as belonging to a certain category, there is the implication that the primitive, which designates the category, can be applied to the very same object as the derivative, which designates an object as belonging to that category: κογγύλιον "an animal belonging to the category 'mollusk'" is applied to the very same animal as κογγύλη 'a mollusk,' the only difference being one of point of view. When, however, an object is designated as being like another object, it follows that the speaker does not conceive of the same word as being applicable to both; for then there would be no sense in making a comparison. He is necessarily

<sup>1</sup> Since this is a general statement of a reflecting philosopher, κοινίον cannot be a diminutive.

pointing out one or more phases of similarity between objects which to him have also very important points of dissimilarity. When now a derivative in -ιον is used to designate one object as having a certain amount of similarity with another object designated by the primitive, the necessary conclusion is that the speaker considered that the primitive, though having points of similarity, could not be applied to the same object as the derivative. Stating the same thing in a different way, we may say that whenever -ιον can be translated as 'that which is like' the primitive, the speaker must have felt both a certain amount of similarity and dissimilarity of the two objects compared, there was a negative as well as a positive side to the meaning of the suffix.

133. Although both of these aspects of the meaning of -ιον must always be present to a certain degree, yet one or the other could be particularly prominent according to whether the speaker was most impressed by the similarity or dissimilarity between the two objects compared. In general we may say that when they are very dissimilar on the whole, or belong to widely different categories, -ιον would call attention to some particular point of resemblance, and the similarity would then be the more important psychological factor, since the similarity in this one point is, consciously or unconsciously, contrasted with the general dissimilarity.<sup>1</sup> Thus, when τραπέζιον is used of a geometrical figure (trapezium), the attention is called to the fact that the figure is shaped like a table (τράπεζα), because the feature of likeness of shape in objects otherwise not comparable was that which impressed the speaker and which he wanted to communicate. Similarly, in πεδίον 'a plain' the suffix calls attention to the fact that the plain is like the ground (πέδον) in one respect, that is, its flatness, though otherwise the two ideas would hardly suffer direct comparison. So πλινθίον, used e. g. of the market place of Tegea, designates its shape as being like a brick (πλίνθος), though otherwise a market place and a brick are as unlike as possible. In all such words there is, then, a certain contrast between likeness in some respects and general unlikeness. On the other hand, however, the idea of likeness can also be contrasted with complete identity

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, self-evident that all such statements refer to the time when a word was first formed, or when its etymology was still perceived. Just as soon as a word had become definitely fixed in some concrete meaning, and the consciousness of its derivation lost, there could be no attitude to the suffix at all.



rather than with unlikeness; an object can be designated by *-ιον* as being merely like its primitive, but not the same, and in this case it is the point of difference between objects otherwise alike by which the speaker is impressed. Thus *χιτώνιον*, 'a woman's shift' worn under the *χιτών*, differed but slightly from its primitive and doubtless was at one time called by the same name; but whoever coined the *-ιον* word felt that the difference was such that *χιτών* would hardly be applicable, and so called it a garment 'like a *χιτών*,' but 'not a real *χιτών*.' Similarly *μαχαίριον* 'a surgeon's knife' was essentially the same instrument as that ordinarily designated by *μάχαιρα*, yet the emphasis of the differences caused the formation of the *-ιον* word: 'not a real dagger,' but 'something that is merely like a dagger.' It is in the development of the deteriorative (§ 155) and diminutive (§ 180 ff.) meanings that this emphasis of the negative side of the idea of similarity has been most productive.

134. In case of many words it will not be possible to follow the mind of the speaker as to whether the positive or negative element was uppermost, and often no doubt both ideas were nearly equally prominent. We may waver as to his attitude in case of *καρκίνιον*: *καρκίνος*, 'an animal that is only half-ways a crab'; *σαρκίον*: *σαρξ*, applied to the fleshy parts of the *σάρι* plant; *στόμιον*: *στόμα*, applied to the mouth of a cave.

135. It is evident that *-ιον* in the meaning 'that which is like' the primitive can become the exponent of metaphorical use, and might then imply that the speaker felt as though the metaphor he used was scarcely legitimate and needed apology, just as the English phrase 'a kind of' may be an apology for using a word in a novel sense. So, besides the above named *πλανθίον*, which may refer to the market place of Tegea, the oblong formation of an army, the squares into which the augurs divided the sky, or the squares of checkered cloth, we find e. g. *πυρήνιον* 'button': *πυρήν* 'fruit-stone,' *πτερύγιον* 'flap of coat of mail' or 'at bottom of *χιτών*': *πτέρυξ* 'wing,' *βοστρούγιον* 'vine-tendrill': *βόστροχος* 'lock of hair.' The same use is also found in other 'diminutive' suffixes, e. g. *-ισκος* in words like *σφηκίσκος*: *σφήξ*, 'a large piece of wood shaped like a wasp's sting.' This is also frequent for Lat. *-culo*-, e. g. *denticulus* 'tooth-like ornament upon a pillar': *dens* 'tooth,' *geniculus* 'elbow of a water pipe': *genu* 'knee.' In all of these words there is no idea of a diminutive force of the suffixes; for the object designated by the derivative is either the larger of the two, as *πλανθίον*, or there is no

essential difference of size, as between *πυρήν* and *πυρήνιον*. On the other hand, the use of these 'diminutive' suffixes to designate an object like its primitive is so easily and naturally derived from the idea 'belonging to the category of' and other more primitive meanings (§ 112), that there is no justification for trying to rescue the diminutive character of these words by devices like that of Kessler, op. cit. 4, who translates *denticulus* 'kleine Verzierung an den Säulen,' although the ornament in question was certainly not small in comparison to a tooth. Moreover, the widely prevalent notion that the application of a diminutive to a metaphorical use should have caused the fading of the diminutive meaning,<sup>1</sup> explains nothing; for how can a word meaning 'little brick' be applied to a large market place as long as the idea 'little' is connected with the suffix? It would be necessary to assume that the *-ιον* word was first established as a diminutive, that the diminutive meaning then faded, and that subsequently it was applied metaphorically. But this theory not only assumes a complicated development which does not find support in the transmission, but it is also unable to explain why the metaphorical meaning should regularly have been connected with the word in *-ιον* rather than the primitive. This latter fact points with certainty to the suffix as exponent of the idea of similarity.

136. To the examples given above there may be added a larger number of words in which *-ιον* is also the exponent of metaphorical use, but at the same time designates something smaller than the primitive. I may mention *ἀκάνθιον* 'prickle on a certain fish': *ἀκανθα* 'thorn,' *κεράτια* 'the antennae of the *κάραβος*': *κέρας* 'horn,' *κόρσιον* 'bulbous root of lotus': *κόρση* 'head,' *περύγια* 'fins of fish,' 'feelers of cuttle-fish': *πτέρυξ* 'wing,' *ῥαβδίον* 'tendrils in the mouth of certain fishes': *ῥάβδος* 'rod,' *ἀκάτιον* 'a boat-shaped vessel': *ἄκατος* 'boat,' *βοθρίον* 'a kind of ulcer': *βόθρος* 'hole,' *νεφέλιον* 'spot on nail': *νεφέλη* 'cloud.' Since the use of *-ιον* to express similarity was the one that gave rise to the diminutive meaning (§ 180 ff.), it was older than the latter, and we may consequently conclude that these words, which appear to be on the border line, belong historically with the *πλανθίον* type. After the diminutive meaning, however, had become well established, new words of this kind could be formed with the idea of small size uppermost, and old ones could be reinterpreted as diminutives, or at any rate the diminutive idea could be combined with the notion of

<sup>1</sup> So latest Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 673.



similarity. Originally, however, no conscious distinction at all was made between the different offshoots of the meaning 'belonging to the category of'; 'generalizing' and 'specializing' -ιον, -ιον as an exponent of similarity, deteriorative, and diminutive -ιον were for a while all included in a general interpretation which may be paraphrased by 'a sort of' or 'a kind of.' All the more special meanings were in the beginning entirely due to the situation, and were not definitely connected with the suffix. Only when in particular words like πλανθιον, ἀνδριον, or παιδιον the situation had caused the suffix to be charged with the special meanings through the habitual use of certain words in such a shade, did interpretations such as 'like to,' 'despicable,' or 'little' gain a place in consciousness, and even then the competition of the different meanings as well as those cases where no special interpretation was called for, must have caused the old vague interpretation to have been retained part of the time.

137. The motive which in many cases caused the addition of -ιον, namely, the doubt whether the primitive could properly be applied to a certain object, is naturally often quite subjective; one individual may extend the use of a certain word without compunction, another may waver as to the propriety of the extension. Thus παῖς 'child' was used for a baby in Homeric Greek when an occasion arose, but later some one must have felt that a baby was really so unlike to what is ordinarily understood by 'child,' that he added an -ιον and designated it as something 'like a child,' but 'not a real child.' Similarly one individual might still be in touch with an obsolete meaning of a word while another had no longer any idea of it. So μείραξ, while originally designating both a boy and a girl in the middle teens, had come to be confined to the latter. In the meanwhile there was a time when some persons would still have unhesitatingly applied μείραξ to a boy, while others felt that the word was not applicable and coined μειράκιον, a person 'of the same age as a μείραξ.'

138. The points of comparison between primitive and derivative can be of the greatest variety, without necessarily indicating a difference of psychological attitude. Thus there is complete similarity (real or supposed) of shape in the words which designate a statue or image of something else, e. g. παλλάδιον 'statue of Παλλάς,' δρακόντιον 'image of a serpent,' κεφάλιον 'image of a head.' There is similarity as to shape in general or in some point or other in an extremely large number of words, e. g. δρακόντιον 'a serpent-shaped fish': δράκων, κεράτια 'antennae of κάραβος': κέρας 'horn,' πτερύγια 'fins of fish':

πτέρυξ 'wing,' κόρσιον ('head-like') 'bulb of of lotus root,' πλανθιον ('brick-shaped') 'market place of Tegea.' There is similarity of color in τέφριον 'an ash-colored ointment': τέφρα 'ashes,' πάριδιον 'giraffe': πάριδος 'leopard,' because of the spots in the skin. There is similarity of smell in τράγιον 'goat-plant': τράγος (§ 257 E), similarity of relative position in νεφέλιον 'a spot on the finger-nail': νεφέλη 'cloud'; γλαυκίον, a sort of water bird, got its name because it had eyes like an owl (γλαύξ), μειράκιον differs from μείραξ according to sex, παιδιον from παῖς according to size and age, and ἀνδριον (deteriorative) from ἀνής according to quality.

139. Words in -ιον which designate something like their primitives sometimes become equivalent to the latter, because any word naturally may extend its sphere of usage or can be used metaphorically without formal characterization. So πτέρυξ 'wing' is applied to the flap at the bottom of a coat of armor or to the fins of fish, and becomes a synonym of πτερύγιον; κηθίς, originally 'ballot box', becomes also 'dice box' and synonymous with κηθίδιον. Similarly στόμα becomes equivalent to στόμιον. From this partial similarity there sometimes results more complete similarity of meaning through the tendency to semantic syncretism, that is, the identity of meaning of primitive and derivative in some respects causes the latter to take upon itself the original meaning of the primitive also: πτερύγιον becomes simply 'wing,' στόμιον 'mouth.'

140. Sometimes the idea of similarity seems to be combined with that of possession, e. g. in the above named γλαυκίον, as though 'having eyes like an owl,' or ξιφίον, a plant 'having leaves like a sword (ξίφος).' This, however, does not mean that the idea of possession was really connected with the suffix, but the phenomenon rather rests upon the same psychological principle as the exocentric compounds.

141. As an exponent of similarity -ιον came into conflict with other suffixes of the same meaning, particularly -ιδ-, -ισκο-, and -ινο-. Of these -ισκο- was most productive in the meaning here discussed, and consequently there seems to have resulted a tendency to division of labor, -ιον having as its particular function the formation of real diminutives and deterioratives, while as a suffix to denote similarity it lost ground to -ισκο-, with its more numerous words of this type, and to -ινο-, which had practically no diminutive function, and thus was a suffix of more unified meaning.



## 1. NAMES OF ANIMALS.

142. *ἀστέριον* : *ἀστήρ*, *ἀστέριος*, 'an animal which is shaped like a star,' a kind of spider. Nicander Th. 725. *βασσάριον* ; *βασσάρα*, probably 'an animal like a fox.' It only occurs Herod. 4. 192, and there in an enumeration of fierce wild beasts, so that it can not be a diminutive, but must rather have designated a particularly large kind of fox, to which the term *βασσάρα* seemed hardly applicable. *γλανκίον* : *γλαυξ*, 'a bird that is somewhat like an owl,' i. e. 'has gray eyes like an owl,' a certain water-bird. Athenaeus (395 C) states that it is only a little smaller than a duck, and so the word can not be a diminutive of *γλαυξ*. *δρακόντιον* : *δράκων*, 'an animal that is somewhat like a dragon or serpent,' a kind of fish in Hipp. 543, a kind of worm in Plut. 2. 733 B. *καρκίνιον* : *καρκίνος*, 'an animal somewhat like a crab' or 'which is only half-ways a crab.' Cf. Arist. H. A. 4. 4. 529 b 20. *λυγκίον* : *λύγξ*, probably 'an animal that is like a lynx,' though it may be a diminutive. Callix. ap. Athen. 201 C. *πάρδιον* : *πάρδος*, 'an animal that is somewhat like a leopard,' probably a giraffe, because of its spots. Arist. H. A. 2. 1. 498 b 33. *σατίριον* : *Σάτυρος*, 'an animal like a satyr,' a certain water rodent. Arist. H. A. 8. 5. 594 b 31. *σκύλιον* : *σκύλαξ*,<sup>1</sup> 'an animal like a dog,' 'a dog-fish.' Arist. H. A. 6. 10. 565 a 26. To these words may be added, if Ahrends' conjecture to Epich. frg. 42 should be correct, *κτένιον* : *κτερίς*, 'a comb-shaped animal,' a kind of mollusk.

## 2. NAMES OF PLANTS (see § 257 E).

## 3. PARTS OF PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

143. The derivative in *-ιον* usually designates a smaller object than the primitive, and could therefore in later times often be felt as a diminutive. *ἀκάνθιον* : *ἄκανθα*, 'that which is like a thorn,' one of the prickles of certain fish. Arist. H. A. 3. 7. 516 b 19, ἴδιον δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐχθύσιν ἐπὶ ἐν ἐνίοις εἰσὶ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα κεχωρισμένα ἀκάνθια λεπτά.<sup>2</sup> *βόσσιγχιον* : *βόστρογχος*, 'that which is like a lock of hair,' 'a vine-tendrill.' Arist. H. A. 5. 12. 544 a 9, 18. 549 b 33. *γονάτιον* : *γόνυ*, 'that which is like a knee,' 'a knot or joint of a reed.' Tzetz.

<sup>1</sup> For relation of forms see § 18.

<sup>2</sup> In phrases like this, where the derivative is modified by an adjective designating small size, the diminutive meaning was doubtless the one most easily suggested to the hearer.

Hist. 7. 741. *θυσάνιον* : *θύσανος*, 'that which is like a tassel,' the tufts of the *κλύμενον* plant. Diosc. 4. 13. *κεράνιον* ; *κέρας*, 'that which is shaped like a horn.' a) 'The antennae of the *κάραβος*.' Arist. H. A. 4. 2. 526 a 7. b) 'The tentacles of certain crustaceans and mollusks.' id. ib. 4. 4. 528 b 24, 529 a 27. c) 'The curved end of the womb of mammals,' 'tubae Fallopii.' Arist. H. A. 3. 1. 510 b 19. *κόρσιον* : *κόρη*, 'that which is shaped like a head,' 'the bulbous root of the Egyptian lotus.' Theophr. H. P. 4. 8. 11. *περύγιον* : *πτερυξ*, 'that which is like a wing.' a) 'The fins of fish.' Arist. H. A. 2. 13. 504 b 33, Part. An. 4. 13. 695 b 21, 23, ib. 12. 694 b 10. b) 'Fin-like appendages on the tails of crustaceans.' Arist. An. Gen. 1. 14. 720 b 12, H. A. 1. 5. 490 a 3, 4. 2. 525 b 27 ff. c) 'Fin-like appendages of mollusks.' Arist. H. A. 4. 1. 523 b 25, Part. An. 4. 9. 685 b 16. d) 'Feelers of the cuttle-fish.' Alexis frg. 3. 416, 471 (3. 3); Sotad. frg. 3. 585 (1. 16). e) 'Horns of the horned owl.' Arist. H. A. 8. 12. 597 b 22, frg. 276. 1527 b 31. f) By semantic syncretism (cf. § 139) with its primitive *περύγιον* became simply 'wing.' So Arist. H. A. 9. 13. 615 b 30, Ingr. An. 17. 714 a 11. *ῥαβδίον* : *ῥάβδος*, 'that which is like a rod,' the tendrils in the mouth of certain fishes. Arist. H. A. 9. 37. 620 b 32. *σαρκία* : *σάρξ*, 'the fleshy parts' of the *σάρι* plant. Theophr. H. P. 4. 8. 5.

## 4. CUPS, VESSELS, BOXES.

144. *ἄκτιον* : *ἄκατος*, 'a vessel that is like a boat,' either because of its shape (cf. Athen. 782 F, *AKATOS ποτήριον ἐοικὸς πλοῖον*), or on account of its small size compared to other cups (Epier. frg. 3. 372 (2), *Κατὰβαλλε τὰκάτια, καὶ κυλίαια Αἴρου τὰ μεῖζω*). *ἀνθεμίον* : *ἄνθεμον*, probably a 'flowery' vessel, i. e. a vessel decorated with floral patterns (cf. § 140), in CIA. 2. 766. 31, *δραχμάς ἐν ἀνθεμίῳ ΔΓ. κηθίδιον, κήθιον*<sup>1</sup> : *κηθίς*, 'that which is like a ballot box,' 'a dice box.' Hermipp. frg. 2. 391 (6); Athen. 477 D; Poll. 10. 150. *φοσκήγιον* : *σχύφος*, 'a σχύφος-like cup which is shaped like an egg,' the *-ιον* being no less a result of the feeling that σχύφος would strictly be inapplicable, than of the word being a compound. It is described Athen. 503 E.

<sup>1</sup> The form *κήθιον* was probably due to retrograde derivation from *κηθίδιον*. The suffixes *-ιον* and *-ιδιον* were interchangeable in many uses, and this could lead to the substitution of either one for the other, even when, as here, the *-ιδ-* of *-ιδιον* really belonged to the stem of the primitive.



## 5. ARTICLES OF DRESS AND ORNAMENT.

145. A. *Garments and shoes.* ἀκάτιον: ἄκατος, 'that which is like a boat,' a kind of women's shoe. Ar. ap. Poll. 7. 93. πτερόγιον: πτέρυξ, 'that which is like a wing,' the flap or skirt at the bottom of the χιτῶν. Arist. Audib. 802a39; Poll. 7. 62. It is a part of the helmet in CIA. 2. 678 B 68 (378-366 B.C.), πτερύγια ἀπὸ κρανιδίων. χιτώνιον 'a garment that is like a χιτῶν,' 'a sort of χιτῶν,' 'a women's shift worn under the χιτῶν.' Ar. Lys. 48, 150, Eccl. 268, 374, Plut. 984, frg. 2. 1084 (14), 1194; Plato Ep. 13. 363 A; Theocr. 15. 31; CIA. 2. 754. 51 (349-344 B.C.), 757. 24 (335 B.C.).

B. *Ornaments.* There are a number of words in -ιον which designate ornaments and are named after some plant or animal or other larger object, so e. g. περιστέριον, λόγγιον. Since we do not know just what kind of an ornament most of these names represent,<sup>1</sup> and since some of them are known only from a mere mention of Pollux, we can not always be certain about the relation of primitive and derivative in such words. But since we know e. g. that golden cicadas were worn in the hair, since words like ὄφις 'snake' are used without addition of a suffix to designate some ornaments (so Nicostr. frg. 3. 289 [7]), we may surmise e. g. that περιστέριον was so named because it had some resemblance, either in part or as a whole, to a dove or part of a dove, and the suffix could thus be translated 'like to' or 'having something like to' (cf. § 140). Similarly with all other ornaments the names of which are derived in this way. For the sake of brevity I translate e. g. βουβάλιον as 'that which is like an antelope,' but of course do not mean that the whole bracelet looked like an antelope, but merely that it had something about it somewhere that suggested an antelope or part of an antelope, or perhaps was composed of a chain of little images of antelopes, as is suggested by the chain of 'spear-points' (δρμος λογγίων) below. Examples: ἀνθράκιον: ἄνθραξ, 'that which is like charcoal,' a kind of jewel. Theophr. Lap. 30, 33. βουβάλιον: βούβλις, 'that which is like an antelope,' a kind of bracelets. Nicostr. frg. 3. 289 (7); Diph. frg. 4. 402. ἵπποκάμπιον: ἵππόκαμπος, 'that which is like a sea-horse' (?), a kind of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Poll. 5. 101, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς κόσμους ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ κωμικοὶ διδάσκαλοι, λήρον, ὀχθαίβους, ὀλεθρον, ἐλλέβορον, πομφόλυγας, βάραθρον, περιστέρια, σαμάκια, σισύμβριον, σισάριον, ὧν οὐ ρᾶδιον τὰς ἰδέας συννοῆσαι διὰ τὸ μηδε πρῶχειρον εἶναι τινα κατιδεῖν εἴτε σπονδάζοντες εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. In 5. 97, however, he says of a list of ear-rings: δῆλον ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων θεμένων αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐνωτίοις τὰς προσηγορίας.

ear-ring. Poll. 5. 97. λόγγιον: λόγγη, 'that which is shaped like a spear-head,' in δρμος λογγίων 'a necklace of spear-heads.' Cf. BCH. 6. 123. ὀνύχιον: ὄνυξ, 'that which is like a nail,' 'a gem streaked with veins,' 'an onyx.' Theophr. Lap. 31, τὸ δ' ὀνύχιον μικτὸν λευκῷ καὶ φαιῷ παρ' ἄλληλα. περιστέριον: περιστέρα, 'that which is like a dove.' Poll. 5. 101. πυρήνιον: πυρήν, 'that which is like a fruit-stone,' 'a button.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 116 (279 B.C.); Insc. Boeot. CB. 714. 6 ff. (πυρεῖνιον). σαμάκιον: σάμαξ, 'that which is like a rush mat' (?), a term of derision (?). Poll. 5. 101. σισάριον 'that which is like or suggests the σίσαρον plant.' Poll. 5. 101. σισύμβριον 'that which is like or suggests the σίσυμβρον plant.' Poll. 5. 101. σταλάγμαιον: σταλαγμός, 'that which is like a drop,' a kind of ear-ring. Plaut. Men. 542. στροβίλιον: στροβίλος, 'that which is shaped like a cone,' a kind of ear-ring. Poll. 5. 97. φύκιον: φύκος, 'that which is like a sea-weed,' a kind of ornament.<sup>1</sup> Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 42, ἀσπιδίσκαι καὶ φύκια δύο καὶ περιδερῖδια χρυσᾶ, ὀλκὴν | πάντων, σὺν τοῖς λίναις. Δ FFF III. ib. 101, φύκιον χρυσοῦν πρὸς τῷ στυλίσ|σ|κωι, ὀλκὴ σὺν τῷ ἱμάντι. F.

## 6. STATUES AND DEDICATORY IMAGES.

146. We may translate e. g. Ἀρτεμίσιον 'a likeness of Artemis,' κεφάλιον 'image of a head.' Since most of these images were smaller than the object they represent, these words could also be interpreted as diminutives, and the more easily because the primitive itself could be used to designate its image without formal characterization, as the well-known Athenian Ἑρμαῖ 'busts of Hermes.' When both primitive and -ιον derivative existed alongside of each other as a designation for the image, the usual diminutive relation of such pairs could make itself felt, and could lead, by a kind of proportional analogy, to the reinterpretation of the derivative as a diminutive.

A. *Images of Gods or Men.* Ἀρτεμίσιον 'a likeness (statue) of Artemis.' Diph. frg. 4. 427 (42), Ἀνίσταμαι Κεφαλὰς ἔχων τρεῖς ὥσπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον. Hyper. ap. Harpocr., Ἀρτεμίσιον ἰδίως τὸ τῆς Ἀρ-

<sup>1</sup> Homolle, BCH. 6. 125, would interpret the word as 'rouge-box,' but the slight weight of the articles enumerated, especially since they were of gold, would make this meaning impossible. Moreover, the fact that φύκια is in the first passage mentioned just between the shield-shaped ornaments and necklaces would point to a word of congeneric meaning, and for the manner of derivation in the sense in which I have taken it there are the parallels σισάριον and σισύμβριον.



τέμιδος ἄγαλμα· Γπ. Δηλ. Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 46, δακτύλιος χρυσού[ς] Ἀρτεμίσιον ἔχων ἐπίσημον. Ἐρώτιον 'a likeness or image of Ἔρως (love).' Luc. Philops. 14, ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐρώτιόν τι ἀναπλάσας. Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 118, ἐρωτίωγ καὶ βουβαλίων ζεύγος πρὸς ξύλῳ. Παλλάδιον 'a likeness (statue) of Παλλάς.' Herod. 4. 189; Ar. Ach. 547; CIA. 2. 652 B 17, 678 B 66 (378–366 B. C.). More uncertain is Ἐκάτιον 'a likeness (statue) of Ἐκάτη.' In the obviously corrupt form τᾰκάτιον it occurs in Ar. Lys. 64, to which the scholiast notes: ἀκάτιον· τὸ Ἐκάτης ζόανον. Accordingly the text is emended to θουκάτειον (= τὸ Ἐκάτειον), the -ει- being required by the meter and occurring Ar. Vesp. 804. The reading of the scholion, however, would point to the existence of a form with -ι- somewhere, though not in Aristophanes. Φιλάκιον (CIA. 2. 836 c-k 43 (270–262 B. C.)), σῶμα, Φιλάκιον· Ι·) is the only probable example I have found of similar images of men. It is however, quite doubtful, on the one hand, because the extremely small weight of the image would point to its being felt as a real diminutive, on the other hand σῶμα Φιλάκιον may be an adjectival combination parallel to σῶμα ἀνδρείον or σῶμα γυναικεῖον (l. 82).

B. *Images of Animals.* δρακόντιον: δράκων, 'an image of a serpent.' CIA. 2. 836 c-k 15, 73, 99 (270–262 B. C.). κερχίνιον: κέρχνη, 'an image of a hawk.' CIA. 2. 766. 19, 23. λάγιον: λαγός (= λαγώς), 'an image of a hare.' Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 207.

C. *Other Images.* κεφάλιον: κεφαλή, 'an image of a head.' CIA. 2. 733 A 21 (ab. 306 B. C.), 836 c-k 3 (270–262 B. C.). κλιμάκιον: κλῖμαξ, 'an image of a ladder.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 35, κλιμάκιον ξύλινον. περίχρυσον ὄρεσιν ἀργυροῖς δ[ι]ε[ζ]ω(σ)μένον. λόγγιον: λόγχη, probably 'an image of a spear.' CIA. 2 add. 682 c 17 (ab. 356 B. C.), στυράκιον λογγί(σ)ο. λύριον: λύρα, 'an image of a lyre.' CIA. 2. 652 B 30, λύριον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ πλῆκτρον. στεφάνιον: στέφανος, 'an image of a crown or garland.' Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 5, 147, στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα, . . . ἄλλο στεφάνιον, . . . ἄλλο στεφάνιον. That the diminutive meaning was not prominent in this word is shown by the use of στεφάνιον as equivalent to στέφανος in the example quoted, and by the fact that when the weight of such articles is given, no distinction is made between primitive and derivative. Homolle, BCH. 6. 120, calls attention to three στεφάνια which weigh 63 drachmas, while a crown of two obols is called στέφανος. στυράκιον: στύραξ, 'an image of the spike' at the end of the spear-shaft, see sub λόγγιον. τιτθίον: τιτθός, 'an image of the nipple

of the breast,' among the offerings in the temple of Asclepius in CIA. 2. 835 c-l 34 (320–317 B. C.), τιτθίον π[ρὸς] πινακίῳ]. Cf. 1. 35, τιτθός πρὸς πινακίῳ.

#### 7. WORDS REFERRING TO BUILDING AND ARCHITECTURE.

147. While in most of the preceding groups the derivative usually designated a smaller object than the primitive, the reverse is true here: περύγιον 'the battlements of a building' refers to a larger object than πτέρυξ 'wing,' and so can not be its diminutive; ἀνθέμιον 'flower pattern on a column' can not be a diminutive to ἄνθεμον 'flower.'

A. *Architectural Ornaments.* ἀνθέμιον: ἄνθεμον, 'that which is like a flower,' the honey-suckle pattern on a column. Insc. Att. CIG. 160. 47, ἀνθεμίον ἐκάστου τοῦ κίονος τρία ἡμιπόδια. Cf. Boeckh ad loc. (p. 277). ἀστρίον: ἀστήρ, 'that which is like a star,' a kind of architectural ornament.<sup>1</sup> IGPIV. 1. 1495. 61. βουκεφάλιον: κεφαλή, 'an ornament in the shape of an ox-head.' Insc. Magnes. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 552. 70 (second cent. B. C.); Insc. Delos ib. 588. 199, βουκεφάλια χρυσᾶ. In Lys. frg. 34 the βουκεφάλια were ornaments of a chest. κυμάτια: κύμα, 'that which is like a wave,' 'a wave-pattern.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 587. 186, 187 (329 B. C.).

B. *Miscellaneous.* ἰκρία, according to Bezenberger, BB. 27. 162, : Russ. ikra 'calf of leg,' and would then be 'that which is like the leg,' i. e. the planks of a ship, either the deck or ribs. Bezenberger compares the use of Gr. κνήμη and French jambe in a similar sense. O 685; ε 252; μ 229, 414; ν 74. περύγιον: πτέρυξ, 'that which is like a wing,' either 'a turret' or 'the battlements' or 'a pointed roof.' Gosp. Luk. 4. 9. τειχίον: τεῖχος. The primitive designated a city wall<sup>2</sup> *par excellence*, and seemed inapplicable to the walls of houses or other private walls, for which was coined the derivative τειχίον 'something quite like a τεῖχος, but not the same thing.' Original diminutive meaning is excluded; for it occurs already in Homer, and modified by the adjective μέγα<sup>3</sup>: π 165 = 343, Ἐκ δ' ἦλθεν μεγάρῳ παρὲκ μέγα τειχίον ἀύλῃς. Other examples: Thuc. 6. 66.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fraenkel ad loc.: ἀστρία stellulae ut ornamentum.

<sup>2</sup> For the distinction between τεῖχος and τειχίον cf. Schol. ad Dionys. AB. 856.

<sup>3</sup> "πῶς δὲ μείωσις, ὅπου τὸ μέγα"; remarks the scholiast of AB. 856 in quoting the Homeric passage.



1, 7. 81. 4, χωρίον ὃ κύκλῳ μὲν τειχίον περιῖν. Xen. Equ. 3. 7, τά-  
φρους διαπηδᾶν, τειχία ὑπερβαίνειν. id. Hipparch. 8. 3; Insc. Amorgos  
Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 531. 17, 19 (third cent. B. C.).

C. By congeneric attraction to τειχίον were formed the following  
words meaning 'wall,' both of which are equivalent to their primitives:  
ἐρκίον = ἔρκος. I 476, ὑπέρθυρον ἐρκίον ἀνλῆς. σ 102. τοιχίον = τοῖχος.  
IGSL. 894.

#### 8. WORDS MEANING 'YOUTH.'

148. The commonest of these words, and the one after which the  
others were patterned, is μειράκιον 'a boy' of about fourteen years:  
μεῖραξ 'a girl' of the same age. The -ιον of the derivative either  
conveys the notion 'of the same age as a μεῖραξ,' or goes back to an  
adjective \*μειράκιος 'youthful,' which may possibly have been formed in  
prehistoric times when μεῖραξ could refer to boys as well as girls,  
and of which the Neuter was later substantivized under the influence  
of words like παιδίον. The common assertion that μειράκιον is a di-  
minutive, is impossible for several reasons. To call a boy of fourteen  
years 'a little girl' of the same age is, of course, too absurd to be  
attempted by anybody, but the diminutive character of μειράκιον has  
been maintained on the grounds that μεῖραξ could refer to a boy as  
well as a girl, and the diminutive was formed with reference to the  
former meaning. This assumption, however, is squarely opposed to  
the statement of Philetaerus Vat. (Cohn Rh. Mus. 1888 p. 415).  
μειράκιον καὶ μεῖραξ διαφέρει· μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄρρην· ἔστι δὲ ἡλικίας  
ὄνομα, ὡς πού διαστέλλει Μένανδρος λέγων· ἔφηβος, μειράκιον, ἀνὴρ,  
γέρων. εἰ δὲ ποτε λεγέσθῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ τὸ τοῦ μείρακος  
ὄνομα, δῆλον ὡς κωμῳδεῖται εἰς κιναιδίαν ὁ ἄρρην. This distinction is  
absolutely in harmony with the transmission. The few late passages  
where μεῖραξ is applied to a male are so obviously devices for scoffing  
by giving a female name to him, that it is correct to say that there  
is no authority whatever for it in the bona fide meaning 'boy.' Even  
though comparison of the Skr. maryaká-s 'mannikin' would point to  
it for prehistoric times, this is of no importance for the Classical  
period, since μειράκιον does not occur until Aristophanes, i. e. long  
after μεῖραξ had ceased being applied to boys. But, even if we assume  
that this is due to the accident of transmission, there remains the  
greater difficulty of explaining why in this one case the diminutive  
of a word of common gender should have been limited to the male

sex, although otherwise it is always the female which usurps the  
diminutive designations. And finally, leaving out of account a few  
apparent cases of deteriorative usage, which, however, are entirely  
due to the situation (§ 171), there is no indication in the use  
of the word that any 'diminutive' idea was connected with it, no  
tendency to confine it to hypocoristic situations. It is from the  
beginning a mere objective designation for a boy of a certain age,  
as becomes particularly evident by comparing phrases like ἐκ μειρακίου  
'from boyhood days' or μειράκιον ὢν 'being a lad as to age,' or by  
general statements which apply to all lads, e. g. Ar. Equ. 556,  
Μειρακίων θ' ἄμιλλα λαμπρυνόμενων ἐν ἄρμασιν. id. Nub. 917, Διὰ σὲ  
δὲ φοιτᾷν ('go to school') Οὐδείς ἐθέλει τῶν μειρακίων. Cf. also id.  
ib. 990, Plut. 88; Theopomp. Com. frg. 2. 803; Ephipp. frg. 3. 336,  
ζῆθ' Ὀχυραζόμενος μετὰ μειρακίων. Apollod. frg. 4. 451 (1), Ὅτε μει-  
ράκιον ἦν τοὺς ἄωρους ἠλέουν. Xen. An. 2. 6. 16; Ant. 3 α 1; Andoc.  
1. 12; Lys. 3. 5; Isae. 5. 40, ἐκ μειρακίου φίλος ἦν. Isocr. 12. 200:  
Hyp. 1. 19. 21; Aeschin. 1. 49, ἤδη μειρακίῳ ὄντι αὐτῷ ἐπλησίαζεν.  
Plato Charm. 154 B, νῦν δ' . . . εὖ μάλ' ἂν ἤδη μειράκιον εἴη.

By congeneric attraction to μειράκιον or the diminutive παιδίον arose  
παλλάκιον = πάλλαξ, 'boy' (Plato Com. ap. Poll. 2. 9; Eustath. 1419.  
50, παλλάκια . . . οἱ παῖδες), and κυρσίον<sup>1</sup> μειράκιον Hes. We are  
ignorant of the precise aspect of its primitive, which can not have been  
σκυρδαξ or σκυρδαλις, since the loss of initial σ- on Greek soil is  
inexplicable. It is necessary either to derive it from a lost primitive  
\*κυρδός, \*κυρσός, or to assume that it was shortened from κυρσάνιος  
through the attraction of παιδίον.

#### 9. PARTS OF THE HUMAN BODY.

149. γονάτιον: γόνυ, that which is like the knee, 'the hip-joint.'  
Luc. Asin. 10. ἱμάντιον: ἱμάς, 'that which is like a strap,' 'prolon-  
gation of the uvula.' Hipp. 868. πτερόγιον: πτέρυξ, that which is  
like a wing. a) A part of the shoulder-blade. Poll. 2. 177 (Plural).  
b) 'The parts of the ear adjoining the temples.' id. 2. 85. c) 'The  
parts of the nose adjoining the cheeks.' id. 2. 80 (Plural). σφαιρίον:  
σφαῖρα, 'that which is like a ball,' 'the tip of the nose.' Poll. 2. 80.  
χονδρίον: χόνδρος, 'that which is like groats,' 'cartilage.' Hipp. 810.

<sup>1</sup> The σ < θ shows the word to be Laconian.



## 10. MISCELLANEOUS.

150. *ἀνθέμιον*: *ἀνθεμον*, 'that which is like a flower,' 'a tattooed flower pattern' in Xen. An. 5. 4. 32, where the Mossynoeci are said to have been *ἀνθέμιον* ἐστιγμένοι. *αὔλιον* 'cave': *αὐλός* 'tube,' perhaps 'that which is tube-like,' though it may be a mere extension of the meaning 'house,' 'cottage' (§ 65). Soph. Phil. 19, Δ' ἀμφιτρῆτος αὐλίου. ib. 954, 1087. *βοθρίον*: *βόθρος*, that which is like a hole,' a kind of ulcer (cf. *συρίγγιον*). Hipp. 427. *γογγυλίδιον*: *γογγυλῖς*, 'that which is like a (little) turnip,' explained by Gal. Lex. Hipp. 454, τὰ μικρὰ σφαίρια ὥσπερ ἐκ καταπότια ('pills'). *θρεμμάτιον*: *θρέμμα*, 'a sort of nursling, but not a real nursling,' applied to slaves which were reared in the house. Insc. Calymna Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 865. 15, 866, 2, 868. 18. For the incidental deteriorative shade of meaning cf. *παιδίον* below. *κιβώτιον*: *κιβωτός*, 'that which is like a box,' 'the treasury of the temple at Delphi.' Insc. Delph. CB. 2516. 7. *κολλύριον*: *κολλύρα*, 'that which is like a cake,' 'eye-salve,' because put up in small cakes. Hipp. 609. *κόπριον* (: *κόπρος*) seems to be a substantivized neuter of an adjective *κόπριος* 'filthy' (cf. *κόπριος* in the same sense), and thus to have been conceived as 'the filthy stuff.' So Hipp. 176, though otherwise also deteriorative (§ 166). *κτένια*: *κτεῖς*, that which is like a comb,' 'the horns of a lyre.' Hes., κτένια· τῶν κιθαρῶν οἱ ὑπερέχοντες ἀγκῶνες λέγονται. *κυψέλιον*: *κυψέλη*, 'that which is like a box,' 'a bee-hive.' Arist. H. A. 9. 40. 627 b 2. Later (Plut. 2. 601 C) the primitive occurs in the same sense. *λαμπάδιον*: *λαμπάς*, 'that which is like a torch.' a) 'A bandage for wounds' (cf. *λυχνώματα*, Schol. Ar. Ach. 1177, in the same sense). Ar. Ach. 1177. b) 'Braid of Theban women.' Dicaearch. 313 ed. Fuhr. *μαχαίριον*: *μάχαιρα*, 'a sort of dagger, but not a real dagger.' a) A kind of dagger of the Chalybes. Xen. An. 4. 7. 16, *μαχαίριον* ὅσον ξυλήν Λακωνικήν. b) 'A surgeon's knife.' Arist. Metaph. 10. 3. 1061 a 4, Eth. M. 2. 11. 1209 a 23, Gen. An. 5. 8. 789 b 13. *νεφέλιον*: *νεφέλη*, 'that which is cloudy.' a) Clouds in the urine.' Hipp. 213. b) 'A spot on the nails.' Poll. 2. 146, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιφανόμενα τοῖς ὀνύξι νεφέλια. *παιδίον*: *παῖς*, 'something like a son<sup>1</sup>, but no real son,' i. e. either a bastard or a son born of a foreign wife; for the latter were called *νόθοι* 'bastards' at Athens and apparently at Cos. From the latter is found an inscription (CB. 3624) in which these

<sup>1</sup> The primitive could refer to descent as well as to age. Cf. B 205, where Zeus is called *Κρόνον πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω*.

*νόθοι*, in contrast to the full citizens and foreigners, were designated as *παιδία*. Cf. CB. 3. 1 p. 345. For the incidental deteriorative shade cf. *θρεμμάτιον* above. *πεδίον*: *πέδον*, 'that which is like the ground' i. e. 'flat as the ground,' 'a plain.' B 465; Z 2; δ 602; Xen. An. 1. 2. 11. *πλινθίον*: *πλίνθος*, 'that which is like a brick.' a) 'The market place of Tegea.' Pausan. 8. 48. 1. b) 'The oblong formation of an army.' Plut. Crass. 23. c) 'The square into which the augurs divided the sky with the lituus.' Plut. Rom. 22. d) A kind of chess board. Poll. 9. 98. e) 'Squares on cloth.' Diod. 5. 30. *ροπάλιον*: *ρόπαλον*, 'that which is like a staff,' 'the foot of a vase.' Athen 489 B; Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 146, *ροπάλια* || ἀπὸ κύλικος· *σπογγίον*: *σπόγγος*, 'that which is like a sponge,' 'a spongy substance.' Hes., *σπογγία*· *σπογγώδη*. The primitive itself could also designate a spongy substance (§ 139), and this partial equivalence caused semantic syncretism, so that any sponge could be designated by the derivative. Cf. Hes., *σπόγγος*· *σπογγίον*. *στόμιον*: *στόμα*, 'that which is like a mouth,' the primitive being thought of as the mouth of men or animals. The primitive itself being frequently used in an extended meaning, it was largely equivalent to the derivative. a) 'Mouth of a vessel.' Aesch. ap. Athen. 476 C; Arist. Probl. 25. 2. 938 a 9. b) 'Mouth of a cave' used as grave. Soph. Ant. 1217. c) 'A cave,' as the entrance to the lower world. Plato Resp. 10. 615 D, F. d) 'Opening' in general. Arist. H. A. 9. 39. 623 a 4. e) 'End of the *σαρκῶν σύριγγες*' of Empedocles ap. Arist. De Resp. 7. 473 b 11. f) = *στόμα*, by semantic syncretism (§ 139). Posid. frg. 4. 521 (16), τὰ στόμα γίνωσκε τῶν κεκλημένων ('of the invited guests'). *συρίγγιον*: *σύριγξ*, 'that which is like a pipe.' a) A kind of sore or ulcer (cf. *βοθρίον*). Hipp. 1201. b) 'The hole in a wheel.' Hes., *συρίγγιον*· τροχὸς κένωμα, δι' οὗ ἐνίσταται ὁ ἄξων. *σφαιρίον*: *σφαῖρα*, 'that which is like a ball.' a) 'A cotton-like ball' on certain trees. Theophr. H. P. 3. 7. 4. b) 'A globe or ball of flowers.' Diosc. ap. Gloss. *τέφριον*: *τέφρα*, 'that which is ash-colored,' an ointment. Cels. 6. 6. 7. *τραπέζιον*: *τράπεζα*, 'that which is shaped like a table,' 'a trapezium.' Arist. Probl. 25. 4. 911 a 7.

## XIV. -ιον AS A DETERIORATIVE SUFFIX.

151. It has been the all but universally accepted theory that when a certain 'diminutive' suffix was also used to express contempt, i. e.



when diminutive and deteriorative meaning occurred alongside of each other in the same suffix, the deteriorative meaning was in every case a secondary phenomenon to the diminutive,<sup>1</sup> and due to the contempt which is naturally associated with small size or kindred ideas in case of objects which are less valuable or in any way inferior when small. Thus in a martial community, in which bodily strength is the highest ideal, a small man is naturally an object of disdain because he is thought of as lacking one of the qualities a man ought to have. It can not be disputed that any diminutive suffix may occasionally get an accessory deteriorative notion in this way, and that it is at least a possibility that the fully developed deteriorative meaning of some suffixes arose through this accessory idea becoming dominant. For Greek -ιον I may mention the following examples in which the contempt which is associated with the suffix is directed against an object because of its small size, youth, and the like. The quality of sheepishness is considered as still greater in a little lamb than in a full grown sheep, and this has led to the diminutive *ἀρνίον* 'little lamb' getting the additional implication of cowardice in Philipp. frg. 4. 476 (7), 'Ὁ τραχύτατος δὲ συκοφάντης μὲν δὲ Λαβῶν ἀπεισιν ἀρνίου μαλακώτερος. Since a child is both little and below the adult in intelligence, the diminutive *παιδίον* 'little child' could get the accessory idea of stupidity, and so become deteriorative: Eupolis frg. 2. 521 (2), 'Ἡράκλεις, τοῦτ' ἔστι σοι τὸ σκῶμμα ἀσελγὲς καὶ Μεγαρικὸν καὶ σφόδρα ὕψυχρον. γελῶσιν, ὡς ὄρεας, τὰ παιδία. Plato Gorg. 521 E, κρινούμαι γὰρ ὡς ἐν παιδίῳ λατρεῖς ἀν κρινούτο κατηγοροῦτος ὀφιοποιῶ. To the inhabitants of great cities like Athens it naturally seemed something contemptible to belong to a little city, whence the deteriorative shade in *πολίχμιον* 'little city' in Isocr. 12. 89, Τοῖς γὰρ ὀνειδίζουσιν ἡμῶν τῇ πόλει τὰς Μηλίων καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων πολυχνίων συμφορὰς ἀντέλεγον . . . ἐπιδεικνύων τοὺς ἀγαπομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολὺ πλείους πόλεις καὶ μείζους ἡμῶν ἀναστάτους πεποιηκότας. There are similar combinations of deteriorative and diminutive meaning in certain words ending in conglutinates of -ιον, e. g. *κωβίδιον* (§ 315. X. A), *οἰκίδιον* (§ 315. X. A.), *παιδάριον* (§ 366. VIII. B), *νησούριον* (§ 328. III). Aside from passages like the above it is very probable that those cases of deteriorative meaning in which we can translate the suffix 'insignificant' are largely offshoots of the diminutive meaning; for small size often carries with it that idea, e. g. 'a small affair,' 'a little piece

<sup>1</sup> So Schwabe, De Dim. Gr. et Lat. 17; Stolz, Hist. Gram. 575; Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>a</sup>. 681 ff.

of work,' etc. So Gr. *πραγματίον* 'an insignificant little affair.' Ar. Nub. 1004, Οὐ στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τριβολεκτράπελ', οἳά περ οἱ νῶν, Οὐδ' ἐλκόμενος περὶ πραγματίου γλισχραντιλογεῖσι πετρίπτου. Epinicus frg. 4. 505, 'Ἐπ' ἀλφίτου πίνοντα τοῦ θέρους ποτὲ Ἰδὼν Σέλευκον ἠδέως τὸν βασιλέα Ἐγγραψα, καὶ παρέδειξα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔτι, Κἂν τὸ τυχόν ἢ πραγματίον ἢ σφόδρ' εὐτελές, Σεμνὸν δύναται τοῦθ' ἢ δύναμις ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν. *ῥηματία* 'insignificant words.' Ar. Vesp. 668, σὺ γὰρ, ὦ πάτερ, αὐτοὺς Ἀρχεῖν αἰρεῖ σαυτοῦ, τούτοις τοῖς ῥηματίοις περιπεφθεῖς. Lucian De Merc. Cond. 17, οὐ ῥηματία δύστηνα λέγοντες οἴονται τι παρμέγεδες ὠφελεῖν;

152. From the fact that diminutive meaning can develop into deteriorative meaning, the conclusion can not be drawn that the latter is always to be derived from the former, since other methods of origin are also possible. Leaving out of account those cases in which deteriorative meaning is shifted from the stem to the ending (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>a</sup>. 683), a method of development which is out of the question for -ιον, there is the possibility that its deteriorative meaning developed from its use to designate similarity and from its hypocoristic meaning. The latter is certainly the case when a term of endearment is applied to a person of such dignity that the hypocorism is an expression of undue familiarity, and so causes endearment to turn into contempt. So *ἀνθρωπίον* 'a dear little chap' has an ironical ring as applied to the hero Menelaus in Eur. Cycl. 185 (§ 237 a), *πατέριον*, the German 'Väterchen,' is really a term of derision when the dignified blind old seer Tiresias is so addressed in Lucian Menipp. 21 (§ 236 a). A somewhat similar ironical turn is given to a hypocorism when it is applied to a person of huge or uncouth appearance, so that this use of the suffix comes into conflict with the meaning 'small,' 'neat,' 'pretty,' etc. Although the speaker need not always feel such incongruousness, there will come times when some one while hearing an expression of endearment will think of the diminutive use of the same suffix, and so think of the hypocorism as ironical. Thus when Silanus is beseeching the one-eyed monster Polyphemus in Eur. Cycl. 266, ὦ κάλλιστον ὦ Κυκλώπιον, the poet and hearer think of the immense size and uncouth form of the Cyclops, and the term of endearment becomes a term of derision. Occasionally the idea of luxuriousness, which is derived either from the diminutive or hypocoristic meaning of the suffix (§ 211 D), may result in deteriorative meaning; for luxury is viewed either with admiration or contempt according to the individual's taste or circumstances. So besides



οικημάτων, 'luxuriantly decorated chamber' (§ 161), the conglutinate -αριον in σκυτάριον: σκυτός 'leather' etc. Anaxil. frg. 3. 345 (1. 6), Ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν Ἐφεσὶν γράμματα καλὰ.

153. Since, then, various ways of origin of the deteriorative use of -ων are not only possible, but have actual support for a small number of passages, it will be necessary to examine on its own merits and without prejudice the proposition that the diminutive meaning is the sole or the preponderingly paramount origin of the deteriorative usage. The only reason which seems to be advanced is that of Schwabe (op. cit. 48), namely, that the diminutive idea is concrete, while the deteriorative as well as the hypocoristic meanings are abstract, and consequently the latter must have been developed from the former; for abstract ideas are undoubtedly later than concrete ideas. This proposition, however, is glaringly at fault in two respects. In the first place, contempt and endearment are not to be contrasted with concrete ideas as being abstract, but they are emotions and are to be contrasted with intellectual ideas like small size. Since, now, emotional expressions antedate intellectual ones, we would have the better right to conclude that the diminutive meaning must needs be secondary to the deteriorative and hypocoristic meanings. But we have no right to interpret a number of individual phenomena by a-prioristically applying general statements of any kind. No matter how similar these phenomena may be, there is dissimilarity underneath, and every suffix must be examined on its own merits. Only if it were proven that all 'diminutives' developed in Indo-European times, and that at this early date either no abstract or no intellectual ideas had as yet been developed, would it be allowable to reason from general statements like the above to single instances. A glance, however, e. g. over Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 582-685, will convince anyone that abstract ideas as well as concrete, intellectual as well as emotional ideas, were completely developed in Indo-European times. Transition from abstract to concrete meaning is as well authenticated as the reverse at all periods which have come under linguistic observation, and we must give up all attempts to decide individual questions by reference to general tendencies.

154. The assumption that the deteriorative meaning of -ων is mainly an offshoot of the diminutive, is further weakened by the fact that combinations of the two are really very rare compared to the numerous passages in which the deteriorative meaning is altogether independent of any idea of small size, as can be seen by examining the collection of examples in the different parts of this chapter.

Moreover, there are in existence some words, e. g. ἀνδρίων and γερόντιον, which are found only in deteriorative, but never in diminutive meaning.

155. I have already referred to the fact that the deteriorative as well as diminutive meanings are easily explained as specializations of -ων as an exponent of similarity (§ 136), i. e. of that kind of similarity which is contrasted with complete identity and which emphasizes its negative side (§ 133). In the pattern types of the -ων deterioratives the speaker intimated that a certain object was lacking in some quality or qualities which a perfect specimen of its kind should have. Thus ἀνδρίων was 'something like a man, but not a real man,' because the speaker felt that a perfect man must be brave, honest, and good, while a coward, a dishonest, or wicked man was not one that really deserved the name ἀνὴρ, honorable address as it was among the Greeks. Similarly τέγγη 'a trade' really brought with it the idea of usefulness and dignity. When an undignified, useless, or debased trade like that of the panderer or parasite was to be designated, some one coined τεγγίων 'not a real trade, but only something like a trade,' 'a poor excuse for a trade.' A part of the idea of φάρμακον 'a remedy' was its effectiveness, and when the inefficient drugs of some quack or amateur called for a special designation, there resulted φαρμάκιον 'not a real remedy, only a poor excuse for a remedy,' i. e. 'a worthless drug.' Similarly κόσμιον 'something like an ornament, but no real ornament,' 'an ornament that isn't worth the name,' 'a wretched trinket.' The whole development may be compared with that of the German prefix un- in words like Unmensch, or the Skr. -ka- in rājakā-s 'kingling,' 'not a real king.'<sup>1</sup> Though in all of these examples there is no need of the development being assisted by the idea of small size, it might occasionally happen that littleness was one of the points of inferiority of the primitive and derivative, e. g. ἀνδρίων might be 'a little wretch,' etc. In such cases the two ideas grew up side by side, and there is no justification for saying that one is secondary to the other.

156. The principal reason for believing that the mass of deterioratives in -ων arose in this way rather than from the diminutive meaning, is the fact that both are equidistant from the older meaning of similarity, and that certain words with the latter meaning of the suffix, e. g. παίδιον in the meaning 'bastard son' (§ 150), unmistak-

<sup>1</sup> Primitive and derivative are actually contrasted in this manner RV. 8. 21. 18, citra id rājā, rājakā id anyaké, 'you are an illustrious king, the others are mere kinglings', i. e. 'not worthy of the name.'



ably point to the possibility of deterioratives developing on these lines. It is highly improbable that this short, straight cut to the idea of contempt should have been passed over, and that subsequently the circuitous path over diminutive or even hypocoristic usage should have been followed exclusively. It is also of importance that at least two of the words mentioned above, namely *ἀνδρίον* and *τεχνίον*, were doubtless common words in every-day speech, and so well fitted to give rise to a larger category, though doubtless those in which the deteriorative meaning arises out of the diminutive also had their influence.

157. The gender of words in *-ιον* must also have been a strong factor in the development of deteriorative meaning in personal names. Brugmann, Gr. 2, 1<sup>2</sup>. 670, points out that the Neuter was particularly well fitted for diminutives of living beings, because it represents them as being lifeless and rather thing-like (cf. 'the little thing,' German 'das kleine Ding,' as a designation of a very small child). Often, however, the designation of a human being by a word of the Neuter gender causes a deteriorative shade of meaning: for the reason for representing a person as a lifeless creature would frequently be some thrust at his want of intelligence, cold-heartedness, or other feature which he is thought of as sharing with inanimate things. Very probably the secondary deteriorative shade of words like the German 'das Mensch' and 'das Weib' was largely due to the gradual assertion of the force of the gender, and the same may be said of Gr. *τὸ γύναιον* 'woman,' which was evidently substantivized from the adjective *γύναιος* in historical times. Since the conglutinate *-αιον* did not take part in the development of diminutive and deteriorative meanings (cf. § 16, end), there was no idea of contempt in the word when first formed, as can be seen by the following passages in which there is no such suggestion: Ar. Vesp. 610, 'Ο δέ γ' ἡδιστον τούτων ἐστὶν πάντων . . . Ὅταν . . . τὸ γύναιον μ' ὑποδωπεύσαν φουστὴν μᾶζαν προσενέγκῃ. id. Thesm. 792, Κἂν ἐξέλθῃ τὸ γύναιόν ποι καὶ εὖρητ' αὐτὸ θύρασιν, Μανίας μάλιστα, οὗς χρὴν σπένδειν καὶ χαίρειν. The deteriorative meaning is already developed in Plato Theaet. 171 E, εἰ δέ που ἔν τισι συγχωρήσεται διαφέρειν ἄλλον ἄλλου, περὶ τὰ ὑγιεινὰ καὶ νοσώδη ἐθελεῖσθαι ἂν φάναι μὴ πᾶν γύναιον καὶ παιδίον, καὶ θηρίον δέ, ἱκανὸν εἶναι ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸ γιγνώσκον ἑαυτῷ τὸ ὑγιεινόν, ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἄλλον ἄλλου διαφέρειν, εἴπερ που. Dem. 25. 57, γυναιῶν πρᾶγμ' ἐποίει. Arist. Eth. N. 9. 12. 1171 b 10, γύναια δὲ καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες τοῖς συστένουσι χαίρουσι, καὶ φιλοῦσι ὡς φίλους καὶ συναλγεῶντας.

## 1. THE PATTERN TYPES.

158. The words which were the earliest deterioratives must have been of such a nature that the idea of inferiority to the primitive is in their case most easily derived from the older idea 'that which is like the primitive, but not the same.' The four best examples have already been mentioned above (§ 155). Less certain is *ἀνθρώπιον*, perhaps originally just like *ἀνδρίον* 'a poor excuse for a man,' and so 'a paltry fellow,' 'knave,' 'wretch.' It is, however, at least equally probable that this word merely followed *ἀνδρίον*; for its primitive *ἄνθρωπος*, in contrast to *ἀνὴρ*, and like the German Mensch opposed to Mann, could itself be used with a shade of contempt, and if the originator of the derivative happened to think of the primitive in this light, he could not have thought of *ἄνθρωπος* as not really applicable, but rather as the very best word for the occasion, and the suffix then merely emphasized the contempt. We may still further reduce the number of probable patterns by considering that *κόσμιον* is only a very late word, and that *φαρμάκιον* was evidently a rare word, being found in a deteriorative sense only in Plato. This leaves *ἀνδρίον* and *τεχνίον* as the earliest and most influential of the deterioratives in *-ιον*, the patterns of most of the group.

159. *Collection of examples.* *ἀνδρίον*: *ἀνὴρ*, Eupol. frg. 2. 554 (15), ὦ δαίμονι ἀνδρῶν, μὴ φθονερὸν ἴσθ' ἀνδρίον. Ar. Pax 51, Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν λόγον γε τοῖσι παιδίοις καὶ τοῖσιν ἀνδρίοις<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ τοῖς ὑπερτάτοισιν ἀνδράσιν φράσω καὶ τοῖς ὑπερηγορέουσιν ἔτι τούτοις μάλα. Theocr. 5. 40, ὦ φθονερὸν τὸ καὶ ἀπρεπὲς ἀνδρίον αὐτῶς. *ἀνθρώπιον*: *ἄνθρωπος*. Ar. Pax 263, Ἄγε δὴ, τί δρωμεν, ὦ πονήρ' ἀνθρώπινα; Xen. Cyr. 5. 1. 14, ἀλλὰ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνθρώπινα πασῶν, οἴμαι, τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀκρατὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ πειτα ἔρωτα αἰτιῶνται. id. Mem. 2. 3. 16, τὰ μὲν γὰρ πονηρὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον εἴποις ἢ εἰ δοίης τι. Dem. 18. 242, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τ' ἀνθρώπιον (sc. Αἰσχίνης) ἐστὶν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πύθνηκος. *κόσμιον*: *κόσμος*. Plut. 2. 141 E, Ταῖς Λυσάνδρου θυγατρᾶσιν ὁ τύραννος ὁ Σικελικὸς ἱμάτια καὶ πλόκια τῶν πολυτελεῶν ἐπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἔλαβον εἰπὼν "ταῦτα τὰ κόσμια καταισχυροῦν μου μᾶλλον ἢ κοσμήσει τὰς θυγατέρας." *τεχνίον*: *τέχνη*. Plato Resp. 6. 495 D, καθυρῶντες γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀνθρωπίσκοι κενὴν τὴν χώραν ταύτην γιγνομένην, καλῶν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> At first thought *ἀνδρίον* might here seem to be a diminutive; for *ἀνδρίοις* is placed between *παιδίοις* and *ἀνδράσι*, but the following *ὑπεριτάτοις* etc. shows the climax to be that of manliness, not of size. The poet is playing upon the double nature of the suffix.



ὀνομάτων καὶ προσχημάτων μεστήν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν εἰργμῶν εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἄσμενοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐκπηδῶσιν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ ἂν κομψότατοι ὄντες τυγχάνωσι περὶ τὸ αὐτῶν τεχνίον. Diphil. frg. 4. 415 (2. 1). Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν τεχνίον ἐξωλέστερον τοῦ πορνοβοσκοῦ. Antid. frg. 3. 528, Περὶ τοῦ παρσιτεῖν εἴ τις ἐμπέσει λόγος, τὸ τεχνίον<sup>1</sup> αἰ τοῦτό μοι κατεπίνετο, καὶ παιδομαθῆς πρὸς αὐτὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ἦν. γαρμαχίον: φάρμακον. Plato Phaedr. 286 C, Εἴποιεν ἂν, οἷμαι, ὅτι μαινεται ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐκ βιβλίου ποῦδεν ἀκούσας ἢ περιτυχὼν φαρμακίῳς ἱατρὸς οἶεται γεγονέναι, οὐδὲν ἐπαῖων τῆς τέχνης.

## 2. THE DETERIORATIVE REPRESENTS AN OBJECT AS DESPICABLE COMPARED TO OTHERS OF ITS KIND.

160. The deteriorative meaning has developed a step further when the -ιον represents an object as a despicable one of its kind, without the implication that the primitive would really be inapplicable. This is a natural extension of meaning which can not exactly be separated from the preceding group; the different attitudes of the speaker shade into each other imperceptibly, and there was no doubt a wavering attitude to many a word. The interpretation 'a poor excuse for,' 'a kind of, but not worth the name,' etc., while it could only originate in a few ideas where it could naturally and easily be derived from the notion of similarity, can be extended to words in which it could not have originated. Thus σωματίον 'a weak body' could still be felt as 'a poor excuse for a body,' since it is lacking in something which it is very desirable for a body to have; yet it can not very well have been a pattern type of the deteriorative use, because no one would ordinarily think of strength as a necessary attribute of a body in the same way as manliness is a necessary attribute of ἀνὴρ. Similarly θεράπιον 'ignoble servant' can only have followed words like ἀνδρίον if interpreted 'a poor excuse for a servant'; for the idea of nobleness, no matter how desirable, is not something that necessarily enters into the later Greek conception of θεράπων. This becomes still more evident in case of ἀσπίδιον 'a cheap shield' and γερόντιον, used of a drowsy or forgetful old man; for costliness is certainly no essential characteristic of a shield, nor is wakefulness or a strong memory considered especially characteristic of old age. Just when and where the change from the old to the new interpretation was made, is totally indifferent, because it was made again

<sup>1</sup> The parasite probably means by τεχνίον 'that so-called vulgar trade.'

and again by different persons and at different times; but it is of importance merely to determine that the increasing freedom with which deterioratives of this type were formed, shows that sometimes and by some persons the old interpretation 'a poor excuse for' etc. gave way to the simpler one 'despicable,' 'wretched,' and the like.

161. Collection of examples. ἀσπίδιον: ἀσπίς, 'worthless shield,' because cheap. Mamercus (Bergk Poet. Lyr.), Τάδ' ὁστρειογραφεῖς καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρος Ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἴλομεν εὐτελέσιν. ἀσπίον: ἀσπίς, 'worthless bag.' Plut. Artox. 12, ἐπιτυγχάνει τῶν Καυνίων ἐκείνων τῶν κακοβίων ἐνὸς ἐν ἀσπίφ φαύλῳ διεφθαρμένον ὕδωρ καὶ πονηρὸν ἔχοντες, ὅσον ὁκτὼ κοτύλας. γερόντιον: γέρον, 'contemptible old man.' Ar. Nub. 790 (Socrates to Strepsiades), οὐκ ἐς κόρακας ἀποφθερεῖ, Ἐπιλησμότατον καὶ σκαϊότατον γερόντιον; id. Equ. 42, νῦν γὰρ ἔστι δεσπότης Ἄγροικος ὀργήν, κυανοτρώξ, ἀκράχολος, Δῆμος πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον Ὑπόκωπον. Com. Anon. frg. 4. 614 (43), Νύσταλον γερόντιον. ἐφεισπρίδιον: ἐφειστρίς, 'a wretched cloak.' Luc. De Merc. Cond. 37, ἐπειδὴν δέ ποτε διὰ μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου Κρονίων ἢ Παναθηναίων ἐπιστάντων πέμπεται τί σοι ἐφεισπρίδιον ἄθλιον ἢ χιτῶνιον ὑπόσαθρον, ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα πολλὴν δεῖ καὶ μεγάλην γενέσθαι τὴν πομπήν. θεράπιον or θεραπόντιον: θεράπων, 'ignoble servant.' Hyp. ap. Poll. 3. 74, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀτιμώτατον θεράπιον.<sup>1</sup> θυλάκιον: θύλακος, 'wretched bag.' Ar. Vesp. 314, Ἀνόνητον ἄρ' ὃ θυλάκιόν σ' εἶχον ἄγαλμα. θύριον: θύρα, 'plagued door.' Ar. Plut. 1098, Τίς ἔσθ' ὁ κόπτων τὴν θύραν; τοῦτι τί ἦν; Οὐδεὶς ἔοικεν· ἀλλὰ δῆτα τὸ θύριον Φθεγγόμενον ἄλλως κλαυσίῃ ('will be sorry for it'). κλειδίον: κλεῖς, 'wretched key.' Ar. Thesm. 421, οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἤδη κλειδίᾳ Αὐτοὶ φοροῦσι κρυπτά, κακοηδέστατα, Λακωνία ἄττα, τρεῖς ἔχοντα γομφίους. . . . Νῦν δ' οὗτος αὐτοῦς ὠκότεριψ Εὐριπίδης Ἐδιδάξε θριπιδεστὶ ἔχειν σφραγίδιᾳ Ἐξαψαμένους. κόριον (κώριον): κόρη, 'worthless maiden.' Ar. Ach. 731, ὃ πονηρὰ κόριά<sup>2</sup> γ' ἀθλίου πατρός. κυλίκιον: κύλιξ, 'insipid cup,' referring to the wine, because watery. Lycophron ap. Athen. 420 B, κυλίκιον Ἰδαρὸς δ παῖς περιῆγε. λεπίριον: λέπυρον, 'rough or tough rind.' Theocr. 5. 95, Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀκύλοις ὀρομαλίδες (sc. συμβληταί)· αἱ μὲν ἔχοντι Λυπρὸν ἀπὸ πρίναις λεπίριον, αἱ δὲ μελιχραί. οἰκημάτιον: οἶκημα, 'a chamber fitted out with contemptible luxury' (§ 152, end). Plut. 2. 145 A, μὴ νόμιζε περιεργίας ἀφείσεσθαι τὴν γυναικα καὶ πολυτελείας, ἂν ὅρῃ σε μὴ καταφρονούντα τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίροντα χρυσώσεσιν ἐκπω-

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript F here has θεραπόντιον.

<sup>2</sup> This, the only metrically possible msc. reading, is often changed to κώρι' ἀθλίον etc. because κώριον is the Doric form.



μάτων καὶ γραφαῖς οἰκημάτων καὶ γλῶσσις ἡμιόνων καὶ ἵππων περιδεραίσις.  
*δημάτιον*: *ῥῆμα*, 'worthless phrasicles,' 'empty words.' Ar. Pax 534, οὐ  
 γὰρ ἴδεται Αὐτὴ ποιητῇ ῥηματίων δικανικῶν. Luc. Philops. 8, πιστεύειν  
 τὰ ἔξω καὶ μηδὲν κοινονοῦντα τοῖς ἐνδοθεν ἐπαγείρουσι τὰ νοσήματα μετὰ  
 ῥηματίων. *συγγραμμάτιον*: σύγγραμμα, 'worthless composition.' Luc.  
 Herod. 1, ἐσκοπεῖτο (sc. ὁ Ἡρόδοτος) πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα καὶ  
 ἀπραγμονέστατα ἐπίσημος καὶ περιβόητος γένοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ  
 συγγραμμάτια. *σφραγίδιον*: σφραγίς, 'wretched seal.' Ar. Thesm. 427,  
 see sub *κλειδίον*. *σωμάτιον*: σῶμα, 'weak body.' Isocr. Ep. 4. 11,  
 τὸ σωματίον οὐκ εὐκρινὲς ὃν ἀλλ' ἔχον ἅττα σίνη νομίζειν ἐμποδισθῆν αὐτὸν  
 πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων. Very doubtful is Arist. Probl. 24. 14.  
 937 a 36, where it is said of water which has been warmed in the  
 sun: τὸ σωματίον φρίττειν ποιεῖ. Did he mean that it only made  
 weak bodies shiver, or is the derivative here equivalent to the prim-  
 itive for some obscure reason? *ταρίχιον*: *τάριχος*, 'a wretched piece  
 of salt meat.' Cephisod. frg. 2. 885 (2), Κρεαδίον τι φαῦλον ἢ ταρίχιον.  
*τεκνίον*: τέκνον, 'hateful child'. Anth. P. 11. 402, Ἐσθων ἐκτραπέλως  
 στομάχων κακὰ, χείρονα λιμοῦ, Οἷα φάγοιεν ἐμῶν ἀντιδίκων τεκνία. *γιάλιον*  
 'miserable φιάλη.' Eubul. frg. 3. 239, Μισῶ κάκιστον γραμματικὸν  
 ἐκπομ' ἀεί, Ἀτὰρ ὥς ὅμοιον οὐμὸς υἱὸς ὦχετο Ἐχων φιάλιον.

### 3. THE DETERIORATIVE REPRESENTS AN OBJECT AS ONE OF A DESPICABLE CLASS OR REFERS TO THE CLASS ITSELF.

162. When the meaning of the -ιον suffix had once developed so far that it was interpreted simply 'despicable' and the like, and no feeling for the original 'that which is like' the primitive, 'a sort' or 'kind of' remained, it was a very easy step to extend the use of the suffix to cases where it did not limit the application of the primitive by representing an object as despicable in comparison with others of its kind, but referred to the whole class as despicable.<sup>1</sup> Just as we do not feel any real difference in the use of the adjective 'wretched' whether we speak of a 'wretched man,' meaning one that is despicable compared to his fellowmen, or whether we speak of 'wretched trinkets,' with the idea either that all trinkets are despicable, or those before us as representing a despicable class, so the Greek would not notice any great difference between the use of -ιον in *συγγραμμάτιον* as used above of the compositions of Herodotus, with the thrust that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 682.

they were particularly poor ones, and its use in *σοφισμάτων* in a sentence like the following: πολλὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Σωκράτει) ἀστειότερον ἐδόκει μετὰ τῶν μαιρακυλλίων καθεζόμενον διαρῖξιν καὶ σοφισμάτια προβάλλειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἢ ἀνδρὶ Σπαρτιάτῃ μάχεσθαι (Luc. Paras. 43). Here the 'worthless sophistries' are contrasted with such worthy pursuits as fighting a Spartan warrior, but the idea is by no means that the sophistries of Socrates were any worse than those of other people, the contrast applies to all sophistries.

163. The use of deterioratives referring to a class is absolutely conclusive evidence that the old interpretation 'a poor excuse for' such or such an object, but 'not the real thing', has completely faded from the mind for some of the words of the last section; for with a psychological attitude of this kind there is always an implied comparison with the normal or ideal of the class below which the deteriorative concept falls: but any such comparison is clearly out of the question when the deteriorative refers to the whole class, and consequently is not contrasted with its primitive, but with totally different objects.

164. The occasion for the use of deterioratives referring to a class is, of course, to begin with, purely individual and subjective, depending entirely upon the situation in which a given idea is placed. Thus when Lucian, Paras. 42, says: "καὶ Ἰπερίδης μὲν καὶ Λυκοῦργος οὐδὲ ἐξήλθον (sc. εἰς τὸν πόλεμον), ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐτόλμησαν μικρὸν ἔξω παρακῦψαι τῶν πυλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐντειγίδιοι ἐκάθηντο παρ' αὐτοῖς ἤδη πολιορκούμενοι γνωμῖδια καὶ προβουλευμάτια συντιθέντες," he uses the deteriorative *προβουλευμάτια* not because they are something contemptible under all circumstances, but rather because they appeared to him an unworthy occupation for loudly shouting orators who, when the test came, would not go into the field, but chose rather to skulk behind the walls and give good advice to the others.

165. There are only very few things that are so habitually looked upon with contempt in so many different circumstances that the use of a deteriorative becomes habitual and an always applicable designation, as happens so much more frequently in case of diminutives (§ 217 ff.) and hypocoristic words (§ 246 ff.). Yet when the circumstances are favorable, this is altogether possible, and then the deteriorative force may easily weaken and fade out like all other frequently used emotional expressions. A certain example of this is *γερόντιον*, deteriorative to γέρων 'old man.' Old men so frequently got into situations which appeared contemptible to the Athenians, that



γερόντιον became a regular part of the vocabulary of many people, particularly young men and subordinates, who, of course, delighted in speaking of their superiors in a mocking and contemptuous tone. Just as the employed now frequently speak of the employer as 'the old man,' German 'der Alte,' so in Theocr. 4. 58 one shepherd speaking to another of the owner of the flock calls the latter γερόντιον: Εἴπ' ἄγε μ' ὦ Κορύδων, τὸ γερόντιον ἦ β' ἔτι μύλλει Τήναν τὰν κυάνοφρον Ἐρωτίδα, τῶς ποῦ ἐκνίσθη; In the vocabulary of such people the deteriorative soon took the place of the primitive, and the only remnant of the original contempt connected with the word was a certain slangy flavor. Cf. Eubul. frg. 3. 258 (2), 'Ὡς γὰρ εἰσῆλθε τὰ γερόντια τότ' εἰς δόμους, Εὐθύς ἀνεκλίνετο. Other cases of faded deterioratives are decidedly uncertain. Perhaps ἀνδραπόδιον: ἀνδράποδον 'slave' is an example; for slaves are frequently enough the object of the ire and contempt of their masters to allow the use of a deteriorative to become habitual. There is, however, no extant passage in which it is used with living deteriorative force. Aside from the mere mention of the word by Pollux 3. 77 as used by Hyperides, it occurs equivalent to its primitive in Diph. frg. 4. 414, where one speaker mentions a list of outlandish cup names, and the other does not appear to understand and says they are names of slaves<sup>1</sup>: ἀνδραπόδι' ἦδε ταῦθ', ὄρῃς. It is also totally uncertain whether θητίον: θήης, 'servulus,' mentioned by Athen. 175 C as the title of a play, is a faded deteriorative or an originally hypocoristic word.

166. *Examples of deterioratives referring to a class.* γερόντιον: γέρον, 'feeble old man.' Ar. Ach. 993, 'Ἡ πάντο γερόντιον ἴσως νενομικᾶς με σύ; ἐκπομάτιον: ἐκπομα, 'wretched beaker.' Diph. frg. 4. 384, Εἴτα μαλακόν, ὦ δύστην', ἔχεις, Σκευάριον, ἐκπομάτιον, ἀργυρίδιον. θυλάκιον: θύλακος, 'contemptible bag.' Ar. Ran. 1203, 'Ἀπὸ ληκυθίου σου τοὺς προλόγους διαφθερῶ. ELP. 'Ἀπὸ ληκυθίου σὺ τοὺς ἐμούς; AIG. ἐνὸς μόνου. Ποιεῖς γὰρ οὕτως ὥστ' ἐναρμόττειν ἅπαν, Καὶ κοδάριον καὶ ληκυθίον καὶ θυλάκιον Ἐν τοῖς ἱαμβείοις. 'You let any old thing, a contemptible sheepskin, bottle, or bag, fit in your iambs.' ἰσχάδιον: ἰσχάς, 'paltry fig.' Ar. Plut. 798, Οὐ γὰρ πρεπῶδες ἐστὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ Ἰσχάδια καὶ τρωγάλια τοῖς θεωμένοις Προβαλόντ' ἐπὶ τούτοις εἴτ' ἀναγκάζειν γελᾶν. κόπριον: κόπρος, 'filthy refuse.' Anth. P. 12. 234, Εἰ κάλλει καυχᾶ, γίγνωσχ' ἔτι καὶ ῥόδον ἀνθεῖ. Ἀλλὰ μαρνανθὲν ἄφνω σὺν κοπρίῳς ἐρίφη. κοσκυλμάτια as if: \*κόσκυλμα, 'wretched scraps of leather.' Ar. Equ.

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Hipparch. ap. Athen 484 D lets a character ask whether λαβρώνιος, a name of a cup, is a bird.

49, Οὗτος καταγνοὺς τοῦ γέροντος τοὺς τρόπους, 'Ὁ βυρσοπαφλαγών, ὑποπεσὼν τὸν δεσπότην Ἥικαλλ', ἐθώπευ', ἐκολάκευ', ἐξηπάτα Κοσκυλματίῳις ἄχροισι, τῶν αὐτῶν λέγων. 'Ὡ Δῆμε, λοῦσαι πρῶτον ἐκδικάσας μίαν, Ἐνδοῦ, ῥόφησον, ἔντραγ', ἔχε τριώβολον. ληκυθίον: λήκυθος, 'worthless bottle.' Ar. Ran. 1200, see sub. θυλάκιον. Dem. 24. 114, καὶ εἰ τίς γ' ἐκ Λυκείου ἢ ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας ἢ ἐκ Κυνοσάργους ἱμάτιον ἢ ληκυθίον ἢ ἄλλο τι φαυλότατον . . . ὑφέλοιτο, . . . καὶ τούτοις θάνατον ἐνομοθέτησαν εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. μισθωμάτιον: μίσθωμα, 'wretched hire,' contrasted to income from property or mines. Aleiphr. 1. 36, Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Μυρρινούντι πατρῶον ἐμοὶ κτημάτιον, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρίοις ἐμοὶ μέταλλον, ἀλλὰ μισθωμάτια καὶ αἱ δυστυχεῖς αὐταὶ καὶ κατεστεναγμέναι τῶν ἀνοήτων ἐραστῶν χάριτες. δξύβαγιον: δξύβαφον, 'wretched saucer.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 89 (1.5), Σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ πῖθι. B. τοῦτο μὲν σοὶ πείσομαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπαγωγόν, ὦ θεοί, τὸ σχῆμα πως Τῆς κύλικός ἐστιν ἄξιόν τε τοῦ κλέους τοῦ τῆς ἐορτῆς. οὐ μὲν ἦμεν ἄρτι γὰρ Ἐξ δξύβαγιων κεραμέων ἐπίνομεν. 'We drank out of wretched saucers, and clay ones too.' ὀρετίγιον: ὀρετιζ, 'cowardly quail.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 4 (3), 'Ὡς δὴ σὺ τί Ποιεῖν δυνάμενος ὀρετιζοῦ ψυχὴν ἔχων; προβάτιον: πρόβατον, 'lazy sheep.' Ar. Plut. 922, 'Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐ βούλοι' ἄν, ἡσυχίαν ἔχων. Ζῆν ἀργός; ΣΥΚ. ἀλλὰ προβατίου βίον λέγεις. Εἰ μὴ φανεῖται διατριβή τις τῷ βίῳ. The scholiast remarks: τὰ γὰρ πρόβατα μηδὲν ἐργαζόμενα ζῇ. Plato Phaedr. 259 A, εἰ οὖν ἴδοιεν καὶ νῶ καθάπερ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ μὴ διαλεγόμενους, ἀλλὰ νυστάζοντας καὶ κηλουμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν δι' ἀργίαν τῆς διανοίας, δικαίως ἂν καταγελῶεν, ἡγούμενοι ἀνδράποδ' ἅττα σφίσιν ἐλθόντα εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον, ὥσπερ προβάτια μεσημβριάζοντα περὶ τὴν κρήνην εὐδαιν. προβουλεμάτιον: προβούλεμα, 'inane decree.' Luc. Paras. 42, see § 164. ῥημάτιον: ῥῆμα, see § 151. σκυλάκιον: σκύλαξ, 'contemptible puppy.' Plato Resp. 7. 539 B, χαίροντες ὥσπερ σκυλάκια τῷ ἔλκειν τε καὶ σπαράττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πλησίον ἀεὶ. σοφισμάτιον: σόφισμα, 'worthless sophistry.' Luc. Paras. 43, see § 162. τραπέζιον: τράπεζα, 'contemptible table (of money-changer).' Lys. frg. 50, Μετ' ἀβακίου δὲ καὶ τραπέζιου πωλὼν ἑαυτόν. τριχίδιον: τριχίς, 'wretched anchovy.' Alex. frg. 3. 455 (2.3), Καὶ τοὺς ἀλιέας εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλῃ. Ἀπελευθέρων ὀφάρια θηρεύουσί μοι, Τριχίδια καὶ σπηρίδια καὶ φρυκτοὺς τινας.

#### 4. -ιον IN THE MEANING 'MERELY,' 'NOTHING BUT.'

167. When a deteriorative refers to a class, the uppermost element to begin with is, of course, an emotional one: contempt for the



class designated by the primitive. Since contempt for one class implies a judgment of inferiority of that class to other classes or a certain other class, there is present in the deteriorative also a certain intellectual element, namely the belief that the object for which the contempt is expressed is inferior in some way to other categories associated with the primitive. Thus in the word *δρτύγιον* 'cowardly quail' is contained the judgment that a quail is more cowardly than most other animals; in *τριχιδιον* 'wretched anchovy' there is the implication that other kinds of fish are more desirable as articles of food than the anchovy. Though this feature of the meaning of deterioratives is in the beginning strictly incidental and subordinate, it may in course of time become the dominant and even exclusive meaning of the suffix, while the original emotional element of contempt has disappeared, and we may then translate the *-ιον* by 'merely,' 'nothing but,' etc., but not 'despicable' or in any way that would suggest the emotion of disdain. There are, of course, all kinds of gradations as to the relative prominence of the two elements, and often we may waver as to which was uppermost. Thus in the passage quoted under *ισχάδιον* in the last paragraph I have translated 'paltry figs' because I supposed that the idea of playwrights throwing out to the audience a few eatables and expecting to be rewarded with laughter filled the poet with disgust, and that he gave vent to his disdain through the deteriorative *ισχάδιον*. If, on the other hand, he is conceived as calmly giving to the audience a lecture as to what is right and proper, we must rather translate 'by merely throwing out to the audience some figs' etc. When the play was presented everything, of course, depended on the actor's expression. A similar example is *στεφάνιον* : *στέφανος* in Alciph. 1. 36, 'Εγὼ δὲ ἡ τάλαινα θρηνηδὸν οὐκ ἐραστὴν ἔχω, στεφάνιά μοι καὶ ῥόδα ὥσπερ ἄωρῳ τάφῳ πέμπει, καὶ κλάειν δι' ὅλης φησὶ τῆς νυκτός. If we imagine that the hetaera adds disdain to her complaint we can translate 'he sends wretched garlands and roses'; if, on the other hand, there is no disdain, but only plaintiveness in the passage, she only meant 'he sends nothing but garlands and roses.' We can be certain that the emotional element is very slight or altogether absent in the following passages: *ἀσκίον* 'merely a bag,' i. e. something empty, in Crates frg. 2. 235, *Οὐκ ἀσκήϊον<sup>1</sup> μεντάρ' ἐμορμολύττετε Αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ τὰδ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ. γερόντια* 'merely old men' in Xen. An. 6. 3. 22, καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶσιν οὔτε φίλιον

<sup>1</sup> About this phrase Hesychius remarks: *παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ τὰ κενὰ δε-δοικότεων· ἐπεὶ κενὸς ὁ ἀσκήϊος.*

*στράτευμα οὔτε πολέμιον, . . . γράδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια καὶ πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλειμμένους.* 'They see neither a friendly nor a hostile army, but merely old women and old men.' *ἐρυμάτιον* : *ἔρυμα* 'fort'. Luc. D. Meretr. 9. 5, σὺ γὰρ ἀλεκτρύονα πώποτε ἀπέκτεινας ἢ πόλεμον εἶδες; *ἐρυμάτιον* ἐφρούρεις τάχα ('merely a fort perhaps you helped to defend,' in contrast to more dangerous activities) *διμοιρίτης ὦν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο προσχαρίσωμαι σοι. κηπίον* : *κήπος*, 'merely as a garden (i. e. appendage)'. Thuc. 2. 62. 3, ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιδῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρείαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐσπερῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντες ὀλιγορῆσαι. *πιλίον* : *πίλος*, 'merely a cap'. Polyb. 35. 6. 4, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλελησμένον. *φαρμάκιον* : *φάρμακον*, 'nothing but drugs'. Plato Theaet. 149 C, καὶ μὴν καὶ διδοῦσά γε αἱ μάταια φαρμάκια ('by merely giving drugs') καὶ ἐπάδουσαι δύνανται ἐγείρειν τε τὰς ὠδῖνας καὶ μαλθακωτέρας, ἂν βούλωνται, ποιεῖν, καὶ τίκτειν τε δὴ τὰς δυστοκούσας, καὶ ἐὰν νέον ὃν δόξῃ ἀμβλίσκειν, ἀμβλί-σκουσιν;

168. The same development of the suffix to the meaning 'merely' also occasionally results from its diminutive meaning (cf. § 216). It is often not possible, therefore, to distinguish between original diminutives and deterioratives, and really not necessary; for the two grew up side by side, and sometimes no doubt both elements were present in one and the same word, and so not separated in the consciousness of the speaker.

##### 5. SECONDARY DETERIORATIVES.

169. By this I mean words in which *-ιον* is originally attached with a meaning totally different from the deteriorative, but which in certain situations or combinations with other words have for the time being taken upon themselves a deteriorative character. This reinterpretation is made possible by the same mental process by which is recognized the precise meaning of any suffix of extended application. Thus the English suffix *-y* has a variety of meanings like 'full of,' 'like,' and is also a hypocoristic ending.<sup>1</sup> But when we hear it in connected discourse, we can at once grasp its shade of meaning either by the stem to which it is attached or by the context. When we

<sup>1</sup> I am speaking with reference to the spoken language of to-day, for which the origin as well as the former spelling is in this respect immaterial.



hear the *ĩ* sound at the end of Johnny we immediately recognize it as an expression of endearment. When it is heard in 'starry' it is impossible to decide until after hearing further portions of its environment, but then it at once becomes clear. The 'starry sky' is the sky that is abounding in stars, the 'starry light' is the light coming from the stars, 'starry eyes' are eyes that shine like stars. Similarly Greek *-ιον* has a tangible meaning only in the individual word or even in a particular environment of a certain word. Thus *βουκόλιον* 'herd of cows' is 'that which belongs to' the cow-herd, *κηρίον* is 'that which is made of' wax, *ἀνδρίον* is a deteriorative, *παιδίον* usually a diminutive. On the other hand, *σωμάτιον* had a variety of meanings. The comedian Plato (§ 86) used it in the plural of the padding of the actors, and it was then 'that which is around' the body. Aristotle (§ 194a) applies it to the body of cuttle-fish, and thus causes diminutive interpretation, while Isocrates so designated his own body because of its weakness (§ 161), and consequently requires deteriorative interpretation.

170. It is by an exactly similar process that suffixal meanings which do not belong to a given word at all can be temporarily suggested by it in a certain environment or situation. Thus *-ια* is an abstract or collective suffix, and the fact that by *ὀλιγαρχία* and *δημοκρατία* forms of government are designated is merely incidental. Yet in Thuc. 8. 47. 2 there occurs the following sentence: ἐπ' ὀλιγαρχία βούλεται (sc. ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης) καὶ οὐ πονηρία [οὐδὲ δημοκρατία] τῇ ἐαυτὸν ἐκβαλούσῃ κατελθὼν καὶ παρασχὼν Τισσαφέρνην φίλον αὐτοῖς συμπολιτεύειν. Here the *-ια* of *πονηρία* suggests a form of government merely on account of the contrast and rhyme with *ὀλιγαρχία*, although by itself *πονηρία* is an ordinary abstract noun with the meaning 'wickedness.'

171. In this manner *-ιον* words of all kinds may for the time being be reinterpreted as deterioratives. There are several different factors which may or must be present if such revaluation takes place. In the first place, the situation must always be one of contempt; for that is, of course, the prerequisite of intelligibility of any deteriorative, whether original or secondary. A probable instance in which this factor alone was strong enough to cause reinterpretation is the use of *πινάκιον* in Isocr. 15. 2, Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐνίοις τῶν σοφιστῶν βλασφημοῦντας περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς καὶ λέγοντας, ὡς ἔστι περὶ δικογραφίαν, καὶ παραπλήσιον ποιοῦντας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις . . . Ζεῦξιν καὶ Παρράσιον τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν φαίει, τέχνην τοῖς τὰ πινάκια γράφουσιν. Since the tone of the whole passage is one of contempt, which is centered on the *πινάκια* in the latter part,

the reader is in a receptive mood for a deteriorative ending; for contempt and the suffix *-ιον* are closely associated with one another, and one may suggest the other. No matter whether the effect was intended or not, a certain number of readers or hearers would become conscious of the fact that *πινάκιον*, though by itself having no relation to any deteriorative force of *-ιον*, has the same ending so often associated with contempt. In spoken language this would be much easier than in writing; for the proper constellation of thought or feeling can be produced by a mere gesture or facial expression or intonation of the voice, so that almost any denominative *-ιον* word could thus be suggested as a deteriorative. Such interpretation, however, would never be certain for everybody that listens; one might be in the proper mood and the other not, the speaker may intend such an effect and never be understood at all, and conversely, he may not have intended it, and still the hearer interpreted it in that way. It would, therefore, be futile to be dogmatic about this or that example and to say there was or was not deteriorative force imputed to the *-ιον*. I can only mention such passages as seem to me to allow the possibility of such revaluation: *κυμβίον* (§ 129a) in Dem. 21. 158, διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς σοβεῖ (sc. ὁ Μειδίας), ῥυτὰ καὶ κυμβία καὶ φιάλας ὀνομαζέων οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς παριόντας ἀκούειν. *μειράκιον* (§ 148) in Ar. Equ. 1375, Τὰ μειράκια ταυτὶ λέγω, τὰν τῷ μύρῳ, Ἄ στωμυλεῖται ταιαδί καθήμενα. id. Ran. 1071, Εἴτ' αὖ λαλιᾶν ἐπιτηδεῦσαι καὶ στωμυλίαν ἐδιδάξας, Ἡ ξεκένωσεν τὰς τε παλαιστράς καὶ τὰς πυγὰς ἐνέτριψεν Τῶν μειρακίων στωμυλλομένων. *σχυιάλιον* (§ 78) in Ar. Av. 1283, Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ οἰκίσαι σε τήνδε τὴν πόλιν Ἐλακωνομάνοισιν ἄπαντες ἀνθρώποι τότε, Ἐκόμεον, ἐπείνων, ἐρρύπων, ἐσωκράτου, Σχυτάλι' ἐφύρου.

172. When a word in *-ιον* as well as its primitive designates something that is in itself of inferior worth, it is hardly possible to say whether the suffix had to begin with a deteriorative meaning which was worn off by frequent use, or whether the passages where contempt is prominent are of the same character as those last mentioned. Thus *ῥάκιον* is always a ragged or tattered garment in the Attic, and *τριβώνιον* is a coarse or shabby cloak, but both of these words are equivalent to their primitives. Most probably the *-ιον* arose through the influence of other words of this ending which designated articles of dress (§ 130), but where the situation called forth particular contempt for these objects, that could be easily attributed to the suffix. So Ar. Ran. 1063, ΑἰΣ. Πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βρασιλεύοντας ῥάκι' ἀμπισχών, ἵν' ἔλαιναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φαίνοντ' εἶναι. ΕἴΡ.



τοῦτ' οὖν ἐβλάψα τί δράσας; ΑἰΣ. Οὐκ οὖν ἐθέλει γε τριηραρχεῖν πλουτῶν οὐδείς διὰ ταῦτα, Ἄλλὰ βράχιοις περιειλάμενος κλάει καὶ φησὶ πένεσθαι. Lys. 32. 16, καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν τούτους ἡξίωκας θυγατριδοῦς ὄντας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν τριβωνίῳ, ἀνυποδῆτους, κτλ.

173. There is a particular kind of situation when a word in *-ιον* is used metaphorically in such a way that the object to which the word is transferred is represented as despicable by the comparison. Thus although *θηρίον* is not at all a deteriorative in itself, yet when it is applied to a human being, contempt is the very reason for the comparison. The *-ιον*, however, has nothing to do with the application of the word in this sense; for words without deteriorative ending (cf. Engl. 'beast') can be used in the same way. Nevertheless the speaker or hearer may have occasionally become conscious of the fact that this word had the same *-ιον* which is elsewhere deteriorative, particularly when, as in Dem. 25. 95, the orator's resources of expression could reinforce the idea itself: δὲ δὴ πάντας, ὥσπερ οἱ ἱατροί, ἔσαν καρκίνον ἢ φαγέδαιναν ἢ τῶν ἀνιάτων τι κακῶν ἴδωσιν, ἀπέκαυσαν ἢ ὅλως ἀπέκοψαν, οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον ὑμᾶς ἐξορίσαι, βῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἀνελεῖν.

174. In addition to these wholly semantic factors there may be certain external ones, which can make the reinterpretation of a word as a deteriorative more certain, though even then there would be something of the same variety of attitude possible. In the first place, certain adjectives like *πονηρός*, *φαῦλος*, and *κακός* are so frequently used with *-ιον* derivatives to emphasize or modify the idea of contempt, that there is created an association between deteriorative ideas and the combination of one of these adjectives with *-ιον* words. When the same collocation occurs where the *-ιον* has no such function historically, it may nevertheless easily be attributed to it; for of the four elements in question, viz. contemptuous tone of passage, deteriorative adjective, *-ιον* form, and deteriorative meaning of *-ιον*, all but the last are already present, and that will be associated with comparative ease. So *θηρίον* in Ar. Plut. 439, ὃ δειλότατον σὺ θηρίον. id. Vesp. 448, ὃ κάκιστον θηρίον. *ὀρνίθιον* (§ 118 A) in Nicoph. frg. 2. 848, Ἄπερ ἐσθίει ταυτὶ τὰ πονήρ' ὀρνίθια, Σέρφους ἴσως, σκώληκας, ἀκρίδας, πάρνοπας. *σπαρτίον* (§ 211 E) in Philipp. frg. 2. 470. ἄχρηστα παντελῶς τὰ σπαρτία. Ἐτερον δὲ καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν αὐτῶν τόνον. *χαλκίον*, see § 101 A, s. v. c).

175. Finally, the revaluation of an *-ιον* word as a deteriorative may be caused or helped by collocation with other words in which it is a genuine deteriorative suffix. This would be particularly easy

when the real deteriorative precedes, as in Ar. Plut. 798 (§ 166), where *ισχύδια* causes the revaluation of *τρογάλια*, but it is also possible when the real deteriorative follows, as in Lys. frg. 50, Μετ' ἀβρακίου δὲ καὶ τραπεζίου πωλῶν ἑαυτόν: for the first *-ιον* form will still be in the memory when the second one comes. Another example of the latter is *βιβλίον* in Plato Phaedr. 286 C (§ 159), where *φαρμακίους* assists in giving a contemptuous ring to *βιβλίον*.

176. In one case, at least, a deteriorative adjective and collocation with a real deteriorative in *-ιον* combine to cause the reinterpretation of another word. In Luc. Merc. Cond. 37 (§ 161) *χιτώνιον* gets a deteriorative force from the neighborhood of *ἐρεστριδίων* as well as from the adjective *υπόσαθρον*. The same could be said of *ἱμάτιον* in Dem. 24. 114 (§ 166), where the neighborhood of *ληκύδιον* as well as the adjective *φαυλότατον* could have assisted in the temporary revaluation of *ἱμάτιον*.

177. These words can obviously often not be separated from those in which a speaker produced an *-ιον* word with the conscious intention of producing a deteriorative to a certain primitive, but without thinking of the fact that the same word already existed in other meanings. Certain words like *ληκύδιον* and *σφαργίδιον*, which I have placed among the real deterioratives, with the understanding that they originated in this way, may just as well have arisen by the process of revaluation.

## XV. *-ιον* AS DIMINUTIVE SUFFIX.

178. Of the various ways of origin which at different times have been suggested for the diminutive meaning of suffixes, most are clearly impossible for *-ιον*. Thus the old idea that diminutive suffixes meant 'little' from the beginning, or were perhaps originally independent words with that meaning, is untenable for Indo-European diminutives because their suffixes are identical with the secondary adjective suffixes (cf. § 1). That the diminutive meaning of *-ιον* could hardly have been derived from the meaning 'descended from,' has been shown § 95. It is furthermore incredible that *-ιον* diminutives should be in the main derived from the deteriorative or hypocoristic use<sup>1</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Wrede, Die Dim. im Deutschen, 132 ff., supports his contention that Germanic diminutives originated from 'Kose-formen' by the fact that proper names in diminutive suffixes appear before appellatives. It is to be noticed that for Greek *-ιον* this condition is reversed, and that proper i. e. personal names appear only secondarily, and then for a while not with great freedom.



suffix; for neither of these is nearer to its original adjectival meaning than the diminutive use. Altogether impossible for all diminutives is the idea suggested by Ribezzo for the Sanskrit -ka- diminutives, namely, that words which designated small objects and accidentally ended in a certain suffix, could cause the latter to become charged with the diminutive meaning by the same shifting of semantic elements as is seen e. g. in the genesis of the inchoative verb suffix -sko-. The idea of small size is not an absolute but a relative idea, and the consciousness of the small size of an object does not, therefore, follow up a word in all situations. Only when there is comparison implied between objects of the same or different classes, will any one think of anything as small. In order that this comparison may be transmitted from the speaker to the hearer, there is need of some linguistic means with which this idea of minuteness is associated. Ribezzo's view consequently presupposes the existence of one of these means, to account for which is the very object of his theory. Its impossibility becomes still more evident by taking a concrete example. Because a few English words in -er, like finger or washer, designate small objects, would it be possible for -er to become a diminutive suffix?

179. There remains only one probable way in which -ων diminutives can have developed, the one mentioned § 136, and suggested for I. E. -ko- by Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 504, namely, that the diminutive, like the deteriorative (§ 155) use of -ων, is derived from its function of designating 'something like, but not the same' as the primitive. If it is possible to determine the exact process and to find suitable pattern types, in which this transition of meaning could take place naturally, there will be no doubt that -ων diminutives actually did originate in this way.

#### 1. THE PATTERN TYPES.

180. The pattern types of the diminutives must be words in which the principal reason for designating an object as 'not quite the same as the primitive, though like it' is inferiority of size. Those words in which the prime motive of comparison is something else than size, but inferiority of size of the derivative is a mere incident, can not have given rise to the diminutive category. Thus *κεράτια* 'the antennae of the *κράβος*' does indeed designate objects that are smaller

Cf. § 237 b. The neuters in -ων were not used in proper names till the diminutive-hypocoristic use had been firmly established in the appellatives.

than horns (*κέρατα*), but the reason for the comparison is the similarity of shape or position. As long as there were no other real diminutives which could cause reinterpretation of such words by analogy, there is no prospect of the incidental inferiority of size taking the place of the real motive of comparison, particularly since the proportion of size between primitive and derivative was reversed in other words of the same kind (§ 135).

181. When one object which is substantially like another except in being smaller is spoken of as 'like' the latter, but 'not the same,' the speaker implies that the element of size is to him an important quality of the object to which the smaller one is compared, i. e. if diminutives actually originate from the idea of similarity, there must be words which by some of the persons using them are considered to be strictly applicable only to an object which reaches a certain normal of size, while other objects, which are in every other respect similar, but fall below this normal, can not really be so designated. That size can really be such an important element in the meaning of a word, can be seen e. g. by the English 'mountain,' which designates an elevation upon the earth's surface of immense size, while a smaller elevation of exactly the same kind is not a 'mountain,' but a 'hill,' and a still smaller one is a 'hillock,' 'mound,' etc. Similar is the difference between 'lake' and 'pond,' 'river' and 'creek,' 'city' and 'village,' 'spear' and 'javelin,' 'flute' and 'piccolo.' It matters little that these relations are often judged differently by different individuals and nations; thus the German 'Berg' is colloquially applied to a small artificial mound of less than twenty feet height as well as to the highest mountain. The important thing is merely that there are words which in the view of some of the community using them have the idea of size as a very important constituent of their meaning.

182. For similar cases in Greek the -ων which designated 'something like' the primitive was a very convenient resource when the speaker felt and wished to indicate the similarity between the larger and the smaller object, and yet was aware that he could not use the primitive for the latter without violating usage. Here too individuals would naturally vary in the conception of many a word (cf. § 137 for *παίδιον*) without affecting the principle as a whole. Words in which -ων may with more or less probability have been added with this motive are e. g. *ἀμαξίον* 'a little wagon,' originally 'that which is like, but not the same as a *ἄμαξα*,' the latter term being applied



only to heavy wagons<sup>1</sup>; δεράτιον : δόρυ, 'that which is like a spear, but no real spear,' 'a peltast's spear,' because it was too light for the designation δόρυ, which carried with it the implication of such size and weight as those of the hoplites had; καρκίνιον : καρκίνος, 'that which is like a crab, but not a real crab,' a very small species of hermit-crab to which καρκίνος seemed inapplicable; πολισμάτιον : πόλισμα, 'that which is like a city, but hardly large enough for such a designation,' a little fortified place; σακίον : σάκος, 'that which is like a sack, but not a real sack,' a little bag tied around horses' feet; στυράκιον : στύραξ, 'that which is like a spear-spike, though not a real one,' because part of a javelin and not of a spear; φλέβιον : φλέψ, 'that which is like a vein, but not a real vein,' i. e. a smaller blood-vessel than was ordinarily denoted by the word φλέψ. Any or all of these words which existed before the diminutive meaning was established,<sup>2</sup> may very well have assisted in causing the idea of small size to be connected with their suffix, and have been of influence in causing the spread of this usage to their own congeners, but they are all comparatively rare words, and we may conclude that all of them together were a slight force in comparison with the one word παιδίον, which became the regular word for 'baby,' and so was incessantly in the mouth of every speaker of the language, and consequently afforded immense opportunities for the spread of the diminutive meaning. To assume that παιδίον was the chief pattern type of this category presupposes that it was derived from παῖς with the original conception 'that which is like a child,'<sup>3</sup> but not a real child,' because a baby was too small and too young to be properly called παῖς. It is no objection to this view that the primitive itself could occasionally designate an infant even when there is no reference to descent, as e. g. H. Hom. Ceres 141, Καί κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκώνῃσιν ἔχουσα Καλὰ πειθοίμην, where Demeter is speaking in the character of a nurse, or in Herod. 1. 109. Aside from the fact that different individuals must have differed in their conception of the same word (cf. § 137), it is of importance to consider that the designation of an infant as παῖς was only an occasional one, and very

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott s. v.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that πολισμάτιον does not occur before Polybius would seem to exclude it from the number of probable diminutive pattern types.

<sup>3</sup> Those who first formed παιδίον in the meaning 'baby' must have thought of παῖς as referring to size and age, not descent. With the latter idea in mind arose the παιδίον of § 150.

rare in comparison with the number of instances in which an older child is so designated. In situations which did not distinctly point that way, no Greek upon hearing παῖς would think of a baby any more than we do upon hearing 'child.' 'He is a mere child' means that he is not old enough to be called a young man, but would never imply that he was yet an infant, and yet 'child' could be used in such a situation that it really did refer to a baby. That consequently the feeling of a number of individuals should have induced them to believe that παῖς ought really not to be applied to an infant, and so to form for it παιδίον 'that which is like a child, but not a real child,' is not at all remarkable. That this was really the original attitude to the suffix is made all the more probable by the fact that Herodotus, when the exact meaning of παιδίον can be determined, almost always refers to a baby, and to a little child beyond the infant age in only two instances: 4. 187, where children of four years are called παιδία, and 5. 51, where it designates the eight year old daughter of the king of Sparta. After παιδίον had once taken root, it spread with great rapidity over nearly the whole of Greece for the reason that its creation filled a gap similar to the one existing in German at the present day. Just as there is no native German word corresponding to English 'baby' (words like 'Säugling' are, of course, not conversational words), so the Homeric Greek had nothing except words of such wide meaning as παῖς and τέκνον.<sup>1</sup> The new παιδίον was therefore a distinct linguistic gain, and became a household word in a short time.

183. In addition to the words so far mentioned there may have been among the pattern types of the -ιον diminutives some of the words designating the young of animals (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 12. 504, for the same possibility for I. E. -ko-). Thus one of the characteristics often associated with the idea 'bird' is the capability of flying, and consequently a young bird (ὀρνίθιον), which has not yet learned that accomplishment, may have been thought of as 'not a real bird' as yet, but 'something like a bird,' or 'something which is yet to become a bird.' Similarly a hare is associated with swift running, and one of its young, which was as yet deficient in this respect, could be designated λάγιον 'not a real hare yet.' The sum-total of the influence of all of such words also must, however, have been comparatively slight, since there do not seem to be among them words of frequent occurrence in this meaning (cf. § 94 f.).

<sup>1</sup> βρέφος designates only the newly born babe.



184. Besides the idea of similarity the Neuter gender may also have had its influence in the development of diminutive meaning of -ιον in words designating living beings. Cf. § 157.

185. *Collection of examples* (except of words designating the young of animals, for which see § 94). The most conclusive example to show how similar was the feeling for the diminutive use and for the meaning 'a sort of,' 'a kind of' is Arist. H. A. 3. 3. 514 a 19 ff., μία δ' ἑτέρα (sc. φλέψ) . . . ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τείνει, καὶ σχίζεται εἰς πολλὰ καὶ λεπτὰ φλέβια εἰς τὴν καλουμένην μήνιγγα τὴν περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἀναίμων πάντων ἐστί, καὶ οὕτε μικρὸν οὕτε μέγα φλέβιον τελευτᾷ εἰς αὐτόν. The use of φλέβιον first as a diminutive and then in the generalizing sense in virtually the same breath can only be explained by assuming that the two uses of the suffix appeared so similar to the writer, that he was not conscious of using the word in two different meanings. In the first sentence 'a sort of vein' was a 'vein-like thing' that was not large enough to be called 'vein,' in the second 'a sort of vein' had its literal signification, without addition of secondary elements. The remaining examples will be arranged as usually. ἀμάξιον. Arist. De Mot. An. 7. 701 b 4. δοράτιον. Thuc. 3. 22. 3, ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, . . . ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις ἐχώρουν. καρκίνιον. Arist. H. A. 5. 15. 547 b 17, ἔχουσι δ' (sc. αἱ πίνναι) ἐν αὐταῖς πιννοφύλακα, αἱ μὲν καρδίον, αἱ δὲ καρκίνιον· οὗ στερισκόμενοι διαφθεύονται θάπτον. παιδίον (in the meaning 'baby'). Herod. 1. 111, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον. id. 1. 113. 2. 2. παιδία δύο νεογνά. id. 4. 180, ἐπεὶ δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἄδρὸν γέννηται, συμφοιτέουσι ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται. id. 5. 92 γ, 6. 61, ἐπειρέσθαι μιν ὅτι φέρει ἐν τῇ ἀγκάλῃ, καὶ τὴν φράσαι ὡς παιδίον φορέει. Ar. Av. 923, τοῦνομα ὥσπερ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ θέμεν. id. Lys. 18, ἡ δὲ παιδίον κατέκλινεν, ἡ δ' ἔλουσεν, ἡ δ' ἐψώμισεν. id. Thesm. 339, παιδίον ὑποβαλλομένης κατέπεν. id. Eccl. 549, ἄρρεν γὰρ ἔτεκε παιδίον. Antiphan. frg. 3. 85, οἱ Σκύθαι . . . γενομένοισιν εὐθὺς τοῖς παιδίοις διδάσασιν ἵππων καὶ βοῶν πίνειν γάλα. Diph. frg. 4. 412 (2. 3), Ὡσπερ τὰ παιδί' αὐτὸν ἀπογαλακτίζει. Xen. Oec. 3. 10; Lys. 1. 10, ἡ γυνὴ ἀπῆλθε . . . ὡς τὸ παιδίον, ἵνα τὸν τιτθὸν αὐτῇ διδῶ καὶ μὴ βροθῇ. Isae. 2. 36, τῷ ἐμῷ παιδίῳ ἐθέμεν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκείνου. Dem. 57, 42, παιδίων αὐτῇ δυοῖν ἤδη γεγεννημένων. Hyp. 2. 45. 12, εἰ μὲν τι ἑπαθὼν τὸ παιδίον ἢ γιγνόμενον ἢ καὶ ὕστερον. Critias frg. 32 (Diels), ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐσεσθαι. Plato Lys. 212 E, τὰ νεωστὶ γε-

γονότα παιδία. Arist. H. A. 8. 10. 587 b 14, τὰ δὲ παιδία ἐξδόμεν μὴν ἄρχονται ὀδοντοφυεῖν. Legg. Gortyn. 4. 5, αἱ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ αὖτις ὀπλοῖτο πρὸ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τῷ πάστει, ἔμεν τῷ τῷ Φαικού. Insc. Cos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 734. 52, ὦ κα γέννηται παιδίον. From the meaning 'baby' is derived on the one hand 'human embryo' (Arist. H. A. 8. 5. 585 a 30, ἅμα τὰ τε παιδία γόνιμα καὶ τὸ γάλα χρήσιμον), on the other hand the application of παιδίον to the young of animals (id. An. Gen. 5. 1. 778 b 21, ἔταν γένωνται τὰ παιδία πάντων sc. τῶν ζώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων). πολισμάτιον. Polyb. 1. 24. 12, τὴν δὲ Καμαριναίων πόλιν . . . κατέσχον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἑνναν καὶ ἑτέρα πλείω πολισμάτια τῶν Καρχηδονίων. σακίον. Xen. An. 4. 5. 36, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κομάρης περὶ τοῦς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ ὑποζυγίων σακία περιελεῖν, ἔταν διὰ τοῦ χιόνος ἄγῳσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων καταδύντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρὸς. στυράκιον. Thuc. 2. 4. 3, τὰς πόλεις . . . ἔκλινε στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μεγάλον. γλέβιον. Plato Timae. 65 C, D; Arist. Part. An. 3. 5. 668 a 34, καίτοι ἄνευ μὲν φλεβός οὐκ ἔστιν αἷμα, φλέβιον δ' οὐδὲν ὄν. id. Probl. 9. 14. 891 a 4, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ φλεβία τινα ῥαγῇ, ὕφαιμος ἢ συνδρομὴ γίνεται. id. H. A. 3. 4. 514 a 26, ἐλάττους οἱ πόροι καὶ τὰ φλέβια πολλὰ ἐλάττω· χυτ' ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς μεγάλης φλεβός. ib. 514 b 5, ἀφανίζονται τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ παχείας φλεβός) φλέβια. id. De Spir. 5. 483 b 29, ἀποτείνει γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πλάγιων φλεβῶν φλέβια λεπτά. id. H. A. 3. 1. 509 b 27, λεπτοῖς πάμπαν φλεβίοις περιεχομένους. ib. 4. 514 b 27, λεπτοῖς γὰρ καὶ κοίλοις καὶ ἰσώδεσι τελευτῶσι φλεβίοις.

## 2. THE DIMINUTIVE REPRESENTS AN OBJECT AS SMALL COMPARED TO OTHERS OF ITS KIND.

186. It was a very easy matter e. g. for the conception of παιδίον as 'that which is like a child, but not a real child' to give way to the simpler one 'a little' or 'young child,' since inferiority of size and age was the very point of the comparison from the beginning. Whenever a situation occurred in which the small size of the derivative was particularly vividly contrasted with the larger size of the primitive, the new interpretation was virtually thrust upon the word, so e. g. in Andoc. 1. 127, where, after a baby had been repeatedly called παιδίον, occurs the sentence: τὸν παῖδα ἤδη μέγαν ὄντα εἰσάγει εἰς Κήρυκας. Similar is the contrast between φλέψ and φλέβιον in Arist. De Spir. 5. 483 b 29 (§ 185). The change of interpretation must also have been helped by the different conception of the same primitive by different individuals (§ 137). Thus when



the speaker used *παῖδιν* 'that which is like a child etc.' with the feeling that *παῖς* was really inapplicable, the hearer might have no such feeling about the primitive at all, and, if the situation nevertheless made it clear that *παῖδιν* designated a baby, he could not interpret it otherwise than 'a little or young child.' Moreover, sometimes the primitive could suffer universal extension of usage in course of time, and then the interpretation 'a kind of' but 'not the same as' would be impossible for everybody.

187. After this change of interpretation had once gained an actual foothold, the diminutive development was complete. That this stage had actually been reached, in other words, that the formation of diminutives had gained complete independence of the idea of similarity, is shown by the formation of new diminutives in which the latter is impossible because size is not a constituent of the meaning of the primitive. Thus *θυγάτηρ* 'daughter' is a concept that has to do with descent only, and the idea of size has no place in it. A newly born babe is the daughter of its parents as truly as an adult person, and therefore *θυγάτηριν* must have been from the beginning 'a little daughter,' not 'no real daughter.' Similar is *νησίον* 'a little island': for *νῆσος* 'an island' designates any piece of land surrounded by water, and it must not necessarily be of a certain size. On the contrary, the smaller islands which are readily perceived as enclosed by water are the ones to which the name must have been first applied, and only with the increase of geographical knowledge would a large island like Euboea be thought of as surrounded by water.

188. As in case of the corresponding change of interpretation of the deterioratives, the old interpretation here did not at once or altogether give way to the new one, but cropped out again and again at different times and with different individuals (cf. § 160). As was seen from the first example of § 185, even as late a writer as Aristotle could still feel the relation of the diminutive to the generalizing meaning. This is as may be expected, since the development of a new meaning never in itself means that it takes the place of the old, but is rather an additional one.

189. In § 136 it was pointed out that words of the *κράτιον* type, though originally non-diminutive, could be interpreted as diminutives or not according to circumstances and individuals. Since words of this kind which were formed after the diminutive meaning had been established, could be formed indifferently with the idea of small size uppermost or the idea of similarity, it is evident that no sharp line

of distinction between diminutives and words in which *-ων* is an exponent of the similarity of a smaller to a larger object can be drawn. Though the continually increasing number of indisputable diminutives probably caused the diminutive interpretation of these words gradually to become the usual one, nothing definite can often be maintained about the single words, and there must have been all kinds of gradations of the relative prominence of the two ideas.

190. In determining the causes of the sudden productivity of *-ων* as a diminutive suffix there are at least three things to be considered: (1) the extremely frequent use of the pattern *παῖδιν* (§ 182, end) and its consequent influence upon new formations; (2) the number of words like *κράτιον*, which could be easily reinterpreted as diminutives as soon as a pattern existed; (3) the clearness with which any suffixal meaning like the diminutive is perceived, and consequently allows new words to be formed without the influence of congeneric words. We may set it down as a rule that the vaguer and more indistinct the force of a suffix is, the less easily will it be transferred to other words because of its meaning, and the more readily will it yield to the process of congeneric attraction or mechanical assimilation to the suffixes of related words. Thus the vague adjectival meanings of *-ων*, e. g. 'belonging to,' 'made of,' are usually not so vividly appreciated, and consequently words with these original meanings usually form one unanalyzed concept, and so often attract congeners either with or without the same suffixal meaning (cf. § 252 ff.), but there are comparatively few isolated words which have gotten the suffix because of the undoubted perception of these meanings. The diminutive meaning, on the other hand, is almost as vividly perceived as a separate word; for the idea 'little' is as definite and concrete an idea whether it is found in an adjective or in a suffix. The speaker, therefore, often formed an *-ων* word with the conscious intention of designating a small object of the same kind as the primitive designates. There was, therefore, continual analysis of the *-ων* word, continual reference to the primitive, continual appreciation of the definite meaning of the suffix. As a result, diminutives could be formed *ad libitum* as occasion demanded, and often one word would be coined independently by different speakers, in as much as each one formed it with reference to its primitive, and did not know whether he was using an established word. In this light, then, the rapid spread of diminutive *-ων* is no more remarkable than the sudden appearance of many a common individual word.







sub καρκίνιον. *καρκίνιον*: καρκίνος, 'a little crab.' Hipp. 472, φέεται ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ χόνδρου ἐν ἄκρῳ ὅσον καρκίνια. *λάγιον*: λαγός, 'a little or young hare.' Xen. Cyn. 5. 13, τῶν δὲ μικρῶν λαγίων ὄζει μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μεγάλων. *μαινίδιον*: μαινίς, 'a little sprat.' Arist. H. A. 6. 15. 569 a 18, μέγεθος ἥλικα μαινίδια μικρά. *ὀρνίθιον*: ὄρνις, 'a little bird.' Strattis frg. 2. 784, Αἰ δ' ἀλεκτρούνες ἀπασαι καὶ τὰ χυρίδια τέθνηκε καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὀρνίθια. Arist. H. A. 9. 36. 620 a 34, b 1, ἐν τῷ ἔλει θηρεῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ ὀρνίθια κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἱεράκων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ξύλα σοβοῦσι τὸν κάλαμον καὶ τὴν ὕλην, ἵνα πέτωνται τὰ ὀρνίθια, οἱ δ' ἱεράκες ἄνωθεν ὑπερφαινόμενοι καταδιώκουσιν. ib. 9. 17. 616 b 28, ὀρνίθιον μικρὸν δὲ καλεῖται κέρδιος. *ὀρνίγιον*: ὀρνυξ, 'a little quail.' Eupol. frg. 2. 512, Ὀρνυγας εὐρεψας σύ τινας ἤδη πόποτε: B. Ἐγωγε μικρὰ ἄτ' ὀρνύγρια. *πολύποδιον*: πολύπους, 'a little or young purple-fish.' See § 94. *προβάτιον*: πρόβατον, 'a little sheep.' Men. frg. 4. 161, Εἴτ' οὐχ' ὅμοια πράττομεν καὶ θύομεν; Ὅπου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἡγορασμένον Δραχμῶν ἄγω προβάτιον<sup>1</sup> ἀγαπητὸν δέκα. *σκωλήκιον*: σκώληξ, 'a little or young worm or grub.' Arist. H. A. 5. 19. 553 a 1, 25. 555 a 19, Ὀχεύονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μύρμηκες καὶ τίκτουσι σκωλήκια. ib. 27. 555 a 28, γεννᾷ δὲ (sc. τὰ ἀράχνια) σκωλήκια μικρὰ πρῶτον. ib. 6. 15. 569 b 18, ὅσον ἐν τῷ κόπρῳ τὰ σκωλήκια μικρά. *στρουθίον*: στρουθός, 'a little or young sparrow.' Ephipp. frg. 3. 326, see § 94.

b) The animal is thought of as an article of food. *ἀλεκτρούσιον*: ἀλεκτρούς, 'tender little rooster.' Ephipp. frg. 3. 334, which I quote entire because of its many words of this kind: Ἄλλ' ἀγόρασον εὐτελῶς. Ἄπαν γὰρ ἱκανόν ἐστι. B. φράζε δή ποτε. A. Μὴ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλὰ καθαρείως ὅ τι ἂν ᾖ, Ὅσας ἐνεκ', ἀρκεῖ τευθίδι ἢ σηπίδι. Κἂν κάραβός τις ᾖ λαβεῖν, εἰς ἀρκέσει ἢ δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν. ἐγγελεύδια Θήβηθεν ἐνίστ' ἔρχεται, τούτων λαβέ. Ἀλεκτρούσιον, φάττιον, περδίκιον, Τραιχίτα, δασύπους ἂν ἐπέλθῃ τις, φέρε. B. Ὡς μικρολόγος εἶ. A. σὺ δὲ λίαν πολυτελής. Πάντως κρέ' ἡμῖν ἐστι. B. πότερ' ἐπεμψέ τις; A. Οὐκ ἄλλ' ἔθυσεν ἢ γυνή. B. τὸ μωσχίον Τὸ τῆς Κορώνης αὐρίον δαιπήσομεν. *κογχίον*: κόγχη, 'a little muscle.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 39 (1), see beginning of paragraph. *λαβράκιον*: 'a little λάβραξ (fish).' Antiphan. frg. 3. 130, Οὐλοῦν τὸ μὲν γλαυκίδιον ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε Ἐψειν ἐν ἄλμῃ: B. φημί. A. τὸ δὲ λαβράκιον; B. Ὅπῃ δλον. Amphip. frg. 3. 316, Ἐχειν καθαρείως ἐγγελεύδιόν τι καὶ Γλαυκινιδίου κεφάλαια καὶ λαβρακίου Τεμάχια. *μαινίδιον*: μαινίς, 'a little sprat.' Ar. frg. 2. 1050, Τρα-

<sup>1</sup> That the diminutive refers to small size, is made evident by the small price, a full-grown sheep being worth twenty drachmas. Cf. Böckh, Staats-haushalt<sup>2</sup>. 1. 96.

πόμενον εἰς τοῦτον λαβεῖν Ὀσμύλια καὶ μαινίδια καὶ σηπίδια. *ναρκίον*: νάρκη, 'a little torpedo.' Philoxenus 2. 12, Μικρὰ δὲ κακκάβι' ἦς, ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν γαλεῶν τι, Ναρκίον ἄλλο. *νητιόν*: νῆττα, 'a little duck,' 'duckling.' Nicostratus frg. 3. 280, ἀγόρασον καὶ νηττία, Ὅποσα σὺ βούλει, καὶ κίχλας καὶ κοφίγους, Ὀρνιθάρια τε τῶν ἀγρίων τούτων συγνά. Χάριεν γάρ. *ὀσμύλιον*: 'a little ὀσμυλος (fish).' Ar. frg. 2. 1050, see sub μαινίδιον. *περδίκιον*: πέρδιξ, 'a little partridge.' Eubul. frg. 3. 268 (14), Περδίκια λαβέ τέτταρ' ἢ καὶ πέντε, Δασύποδας τρεῖς, στρουθάρια θ' ὅσον Ἐντραγεῖν, ἀκανθυλλίδας, βιττάκους, Σπίνια, κερχυῖδας, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἄτ' ἂν ἐπιτύχῃς. Ephipp. frg. 3. 334, see sub ἀλεκτρούσιον. *περιστέριον*: περιστέρη, 'a little dove.' Com. ap. Athen. 654 B, ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΙΟΝ οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν εἰρημένον παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ ἐν Παλλακῇ: "μικρὸν ἐπιμείνας προστρέχει, Ἠγόρακά σοι περιστέρια <ταδὶ> λέγων". ὁμοίως Νικόστρατος Ἄβρα: "ταῦτ' ἀξίω. Τούρνιθάριον, τὸ περιστέριον. τὸ γάστριον." Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἀντέρωτι: "Περιστέρια γὰρ εἰσάγων καὶ στρουθία." Φρύνιχος Τραγωδοῖς: "Περιστέριον δ' αὐτῷ τι λαβέ τριωβόλου." *σπίνιον*: σπίνος, 'a little siskin(?)'. Eubul. frg. 3. 268 (14), see sub περδίκιον. *στρουθίον*: στρουθός, 'a little sparrow.' Anaxandr. frg. 3. 164, see sub περιστέριον. *τευθίδιον*: τευθίς, 'a little cuttle-fish.' Pherecr. frg. 2. 316, see beginning of paragraph. Eubul. frg. 3. 258, Μὴ πολυτελῶς, ἀλλὰ καθαρείως ὅ τι ἂν ᾖ, Ὅσας ἐνεκα, σηπίδι ἢ τευθίδι, Πλεκτάνια μικρὰ πολύποδος, νῆστιν τινα. Ephipp. frg. 3. 334, see sub ἀλεκτρούσιον. *γάττιον*: φάττα, 'a little ringdove.' id. l. c.

194. C. *The body or parts of the body.* For the parts of animals the same distinction can be made as for the names of the animals themselves: they can be thought of as articles of food or not, and if so, the idea of tenderness, deliciousness, etc., may be present or even dominant. I consequently divide: a) the human body or its parts, or of animals when not thought of as articles of food; b) the latter conceived of as food.

a) *ὀμμάτιον*: ὀμμά, 'a little eye.' Arist. Physiogn. 3. 807 b 29, ἀναιδουὺς σημεῖα ὀμμάτιον ἀνεπτυγμένον καὶ λαμπρόν. ib. 35, κοσμίον σημεῖα . . ὀμμάτιον ἀλαμπές μέλαν καὶ μήτε λίαν ἀνεπτυγμένον μήτε παντά-πασι συμμεμικτός, σκαρδαμυκτικὸν βραδέως. ib. 808 b 6, λάγνου σημεῖα . . λιπαρὸν τὸ ὀμμάτιον καὶ μάργον. *ὀνύχιον*: ὄνυξ, 'a little nail,' of a chameleon. Arist. H. A. 2. 11. 503 a 29, ἔχει δὲ καὶ (sc. ὁ χαμαι-λέων) ὀνύχια ἐπὶ τούτων ὅμοια τοῖς τῶν γαμφονύχων. *πλευρίον*: πλευρά, 'a little rib.' Hipp. 261, πλευρία of a baby's ribs. *ρύγχιον*: ῥύγχος, 'a little snout.' Ar. Ach. 744 (the Megarian to his two little girls, who are to be sold as pigs), Ἄλλ' ἀμυθισθε καὶ ταδὶ τὰ ῥύγχια.



σωμάτιον: σῶμα, 'a little body.' Hipp. 261, of a baby's body. Arist. frg. 318. 1532 a 9, of the body of the τευθίς, τὸ δλον σωματίον τρυφερὸν καὶ υπομηκέστερον. ἡμέμιον: ἡμήν, 'a little membrane.' Arist. H. A. 1. 17. 497 a 21, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντῃ κύκλῳ λεπτοῖς καὶ ἰνώδεσιν ὑμενίοις ἐστὶ προσειλημμένη (sc. ἡ κύστις). ib. 4. 4. 529 a 17, παρύφανται δ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλίας τῷ στομάχῳ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλαις κόχλοις συνεχόμενος ὑμενίῳ μακρὸς πόρος καὶ λευκός. ὠτίον: οὖς, 'little ear.' Diosc. 2. 214, ἔχειν μυδὲς ὠτίοις ὅμοια τὰ φύλλα.

b) ἡπάτιον: ἥπαρ, 'delicious (little) liver,' the idea of small size being entirely subordinate, if present at all. Ar. frg. 2. 1151 (9), Ἄλις ἀφύης μοι. παρατέταμαι γὰρ τὰ λιπαρὰ κάπτων. Ἄλλὰ φέρεθ' ἡπάτιον. ἡ καπριδίου νέου Κόλλοπά τινα. Eubul. frg. 3. 217, Ἠπάτια, νῆστις, πλεύμονες, μήτρα. Aristophon frg. 3. 356, Ἐπειθ' ἡπάτια καὶ νῆστιν τινα Προσέθηνεν. Alexis frg. 3. 397 (1. 7), Ἠπάτιον ὀπτὸν προσέλαβον. id. ib. 429 (1. 16), Κρεάδι' ἄττα, ποδάριον, ῥύγχη τινά, Ὡτάρι' οὐεῖ, ἡπάτιον ἐγκεκαλυμμένον. πλεκιάνιον: πλεκτάνη, 'a little polyp's arm.' Eubul. frg. 3. 258, see § 193 b sub τευθίδιον. πνευμόνιον: πνεύμων, 'a little lung.' Hegesander ap. Athen. 107 E, ἐν τοῖς κεκαλυμμένοις ἡπατίοις αὐτῇ πνευμόνιον ἔλαβε, καὶ ὡς περιελούσα τὸ στέαρ εἶδεν, ἔκραγεν. πόδιον: πούς, 'a little foot.' Epich. frg. 57, Ἐντὶ δ' ἄστακοὶ κολύβδαιναί τε χῶς τὰ πόδι' ἔχει Μικρά, τὰς χεῖρας δὲ μακράς, κάραβος δὲ τοῦνομα.

195. D. *Plants or parts of plants.* The accessory elements in the meaning of the suffix are largely the same as for names of animals. A small plant or part of a plant is also usually young and tender, and consequently these two ideas may be combined with that of small size. The adjective νέος in the first example quoted shows that 'young' may be the dominant idea in the use of the diminutive. ἀμπέμιον: ἄμπελος, 'a young vine.' Ar. Pax 596, Ὡστε σὲ τὰ τ' ἀμπέλια καὶ τὰ νέα συκιδία Τᾷλλ' θ' ὀπόσ' ἐστὶ φυτὰ Προσγελάσεται λαβρόντ' ἄσμενα. βοιάνιον: βοτάνη, 'a little plant.' Theophr. C. P. 2. 17. 3, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ συρικὸν βοτάνιον ὃ καλούμενος καδύτας καὶ δένδροις καὶ ἀκάνθαις ἐμφύεται καὶ ἄλλοις τισί. καυλίον: καυλός, 'a slender stalk.' Diosc. 2. 214, ἐκρύεται τε λεπτὰ καυλία ἐκ τῶν μασχαλῶν, ἐφ' ὧν ἀνθήλια κυανίζοντα μικρά. κλωνίον: κλών, 'a very young shoot.' While the diminutive sometimes refers to the whole class (§ 208 D), it seems to designate particularly young or tender shoots in the fol-

<sup>1</sup> The adjective μικρά shows that the idea of small size was uppermost in the mind of the writer, and that he did not conceive πόδιον as 'a foot-like thing, but not a real foot.'

lowing passages: Theophr. H. P. 9. 16. 1, 2, ἔχει δέ (sc. τὸ δίκταμνον) τι καὶ κατὰ τὸν χυλὸν ἐμφορές, τὰ δὲ κλωνία λεπτότερα. . . . τὸ δὲ ψευδοδίκταμνον τῷ μὲν φύλλῳ ὅμοιον, τοῖς δὲ κλωνίοις δ' ἔλαττον. id. C. P. 5. 13. 4, λεπτὰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ κλωνία καὶ ἀπαλὰ τῇ φύσει, καὶ δλον τὸ δένδρον οὐ θερμόν. λεπίριον: λέπυρον, 'a small husk.' Arist. H. A. 5. 15. 546 b 20, Τοῦτο δ' (sc. τὰ τῆς πορφύρας μελίκηρα) ἐστὶν ὅλον κηρίον, πλὴν οὐχ οὕτω γλαφυρόν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐκ λεπυρίων ἐρεβινθίνων λευκῶν πολλὰ συμπαγείη. ὀρόβιον: ὀρόβος, 'a little chick-pea.' Hipp. 58, καὶ ἐν τῇ οὐρῳ ὑφίσταται ὅλον ὀρόβιον πυρρόν. ῥαβδίον: ῥάβδος, 'a little twig.' Theophr. H. P. 3. 15. 2, καὶ τὰ λεπτὰ πάνυ ῥαβδία περιλοπίσαντες κανέα ποιοῦσι. ib. 17. 6, ἐστὶ δὲ (sc. ἡ ἄμπελος) θαμνωδὲς ῥαβδίους μικροῖς. ῥαφανίδιον: ῥαφανίς, 'a little radish,' see sub φύλλιον. ῥίζιον: ῥίζα, 'a little root.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 23, Ῥίζιον τρέψας τι μικρόν. φύλλιον: φύλλον, 'a little leaf or herb.' Plato Com. ap. Athen. 56 F, ὑποκοριστικῶς δ' εἶρηκε Πλάτων ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ: "φύλλιον ἢ ῥαφανίδιον."

196. E. *Natural phenomena, geographical conceptions, etc.* The diminutive idea is comparatively free from accessory notions. λιμνίον, however, 'a little pond,' being applied to one not larger than a shield, may have been interpreted as 'not a real pond,' but only 'like a pond.' κηπίον: κῆπος, 'a little garden.' Insc. Halicarnassus Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 11. 15 (end of 5th cent. B. C.), οἰκίην . . . καὶ τὸ κηπίον τὸ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίῃ δρυ(χμέων) ΧΗΗΠΔΔΔΔ (sc. ἐπρίατο). κώμιον: κώμη, 'a little village.' Plut. 2. 773 B, ἐστὶ δὲ (sc. Λεῦκτρα) κώμιον τῆς τῶν Θεσπείων χώρας. λιμνίον: λίμνη, 'a little lake or pond.' Arist. Mirab. 112. 840 b 33, λιμνίον τι ἔχον ὅσον ἀσπίδος τὸ περίμετρον. ραμάτιον: ῥάμα, 'a little stream.' Theophr. Ign. 29, διὰ τοῦτο καταγνύντες τοὺς ἀνδρακας ἐνίοτε καὶ προσάγοντες ἀλλήλοισι φουσῶσιν. ἐκ μικρῶν γὰρ συνιόντων ὥσπερ ναματίων καὶ ἡ φλόξ γίνεται. νεφέλιον: νεφέλη, 'a little cloud.' Arist. Meteor. 2. 8. 367 b 9, ἡ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἡ μικρὸν μετὰ δυσμίας, αἰθρίας οὕσης, νεφέλιον λεπτὸν φαίνεται διατεῖνον καὶ μακρόν. νησίον: νῆσος, 'a little island.' Strabo 160, ὥκουσιν δ' οἱ Ἐμπορίται πρότερον νησίον τι προκειμένον, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται παλαιὰ πόλις. πλάκια (τὰ): πλάξ, probably 'little pieces of flat land,' or else a plural like τὰ οἰκία (§ 87 ff.). Insc. Troez. IGPIV. 1. 823. 61. πολίχμιον: πολίχμη, 'a small town.' Plato Resp. 2. 370 D, Τέκτονας δὲ καὶ χαλκῆς καὶ τοιοῦτοί τινες πολλοὶ δημιουργοί, κοινωνοὶ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολιχνίου γιγνώμενοι, συγχὸν αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν. For Isocr. 12. 89 see § 151. ποτάμιον: ποταμός, 'a little river.' Metagenes frg. 2. 753, Τὰ δὲ μικρὰ ταυτὶ ποτάμι' ἐνμεντευθενὶ Περὶ τευθίσιν ὀπταῖς καὶ φάγροις καὶ καράβοις, Ἐντευθενὶ δ' ἀλλᾷσι καὶ περι-



κόμμασιν. Strabo 8. 342, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ποτάμιον<sup>1</sup> πλησίον. *ῥευμάτιον* : *ῥεῦμα*, 'a little stream,' 'rivulet.' Plut. Thes. 27, τὸ *ῥευμάτιον* δὲ πάλαι μὲν, ὡς ἔοικε, Θερμώδων, Αἰῶν δὲ νῦν καλεῖται. Metaphorically in Arist. Probl. 11. 18. 901 a 3. *συστρεμμάτιον* : *σύστρεμμα*, 'a little pool.' Arist. Mirab. 29. 832 b 4. *ιδάτιον* : *ἰδωρ*, 'a little stream.' Plato Phaedr. 229 A, B, ῥᾶστον οὖν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ *ιδάτιον* (sc. τὸν Ἰλισσόν) βρέχουσι τοὺς πόδας ἵεναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀηδές, . . . χαρίεντα γοῦν καὶ καθαρά καὶ διαφανῆ τὰ *ιδάτια*<sup>2</sup> φαίνεται, καὶ ἐπιτήδεια κόραις παίζειν παρ' αὐτά. Arist. H. A. 8. 28. 606 b 21, διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν μίσησθαι δοκεῖ ἀπαντῶντα πρὸς τὰ *ιδάτια* καὶ τὰ μὴ ὁμόφυλα.

197. F. *Words designating statues.* The diminutive refers to small size exclusively. *ἀγαλμάτιον* : *ἀγαλμα*, 'a little statue.' Luc. Somn. 3, ἀγαλμάτιά τινα μικρὰ κατασκευάζων. Athen. 676 A, ἀγαλμάτιον Ἀφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον, ἀρχαῖον τῇ τέχνῃ. *ἀνδριάντιον* : *ἀνδριάς*, 'a little statue.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 119 (279 B. C.), Δακτυλίδιον χρυσοῦν, ἀνδριάντιον, τυπίον, χρυσᾶ· ὁλικὴν πάντων· *††*. *εἰκότιον* : *εἰκών*, 'a little image.' Polemon ap. Athen. 574 D, καὶ τὸ Κοττίνας δὲ τῆς ἐπαίρας εἰκότιον. . . ἀνάθημα δ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς Χαλκισίου βολιδίον τι χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ προσειρημένον εἰκότιον. *ξοάντιον* : *ξόανον*, 'a little wooden image.' Insc. Anaphe CB. 3430. 12. *τυπίον* : *τύπος*, 'a little image.' CIA. 2. 836 c—k 15 (270–262 B. C.), τυπίον καὶ δρακόντια τέτταρα Δ. l. 19, τυπία δύο Νανίου. l. 30, τυπίον Κρατίνου [†]· τύπος Ἀνδρ[οκλ]έ[ους] *†††*. τύπος Λαμίδιου *†††*. l. 39, τυπία πέντε Ἀρχίππης *††††*. Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 119, τυπίον ἀργυροῦν, ὁλικὴν· *††*.

198. G. *Vases, vessels, bags, boxes, etc.* As in the two preceding groups the diminutive refers to size exclusively. As was remarked § 125, it is extremely difficult to separate diminutives of this group from congeneric words which are equivalent to their primitives. With more or less probability the following words seem to be diminutives: *ἀσκήτιον* : *ἀσκή*, 'a little bag.' Hipp. 261, ἀσκή δύο ἐξευγμένα ὕδατος μεστά. ἐπάνω δὲ τῶν ἀσκήων εἶρα. ἐπάνω δὲ τούτων τὸ ἔμβρυον. *θυλάκιον* : *θύλακος*, probably a 'little bag' in Herod. 3. 105, because filled with heavy gold dust and carried away: ἐπεὶν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χώρον οἱ Ἴνδοι ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ἐπίσω. *κακκάριον*, 'a little κακκάβη.' Philoxenus frg. 2. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 200, note to *γεφυρίον*.

<sup>2</sup> The plural here because the stream is thought of as a mass of water, though the diminutive logically requires the singular when applied to a single stream. In other words, τὰ *ιδάτια* arose by contamination of τὰ *ἰδωρ* and τὸ *ιδάτιον*.

see § 193 b sub *ναρκίον*. *κιβώτιον* : *κιβωτός*, 'a little box,' if diminutive, as is possible in the following passages because it seems to refer to small specimens: Dem. 25. 61, ὕστερον δ' εὐρίσκουσι τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐν κιβωτίῳ τινί. CIA. 2. 652 B 25 f. (beg. of 4th cent. B. C.), ἐ[ν ἐτ]||ἐρῳ κιβωτίῳ· συβήνη ἐλεφαντίνη κατάχρυσος· ἐν κιβωτί[ῳ· ῥμ.]ω δύο, ὑποδερίς, διοπὼν δύο ζεύγει. l. 30, ἐγ κιβωτίῳ· λύριον ἐλεφάντινον καὶ πλῆκτρον. Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 187 (180 B. C.), χρυσίον ἐγ κιβωτίῳ παντοδαπόν. l. 197, στεφάνων κλάσματα καὶ ἄλλα χρυσία παντοδαπά ἐν κιβωτίῳ. Insc. Caryanda BCH. 1884 p. 219. 12 ff., παρακεῖσθαι [ἐκ]α[στῶ]ν κιβώτιον ἐσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν προστατῶν, ἔχον . . . μήκος διδάκτυλον. *κυλίκιον* : *κύλιξ*, 'a little cup.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 102, [κυ]λίκιον ἀργυροῦν, ὁλικὴν *††*. Contrast l. 27, κύλιξ . . . ὁλικὴ *†††††*. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 14, κυλίκιον καὶ ὠτάριον. l. 41, κυλίκιον μόνωτον. *ληκύθιον* : *λήκυθος*, perhaps 'a little flask,' CIA. 2. 835 c-l 85 (320–317 B. C.), ληκύθιον ἀργυροῦν ἐπὶ στανιδίῳ. *μαρσίπιον* : *μαρσίπος*, 'a little pouch.' Apollodorus Carystus ap. Poll. 10. 152, μαρσίπιόν τι μικρόν. *φιάλιον* 'a little φιάλη' (cf. § 125). There is nothing to show whether the word is a diminutive in Arist. Mir. 33. 832 b 26, but a comparison of the weight of the φιάλια and the φιάλαι in inscriptions shows that the former word designates the smaller vessels. Thus in Mich. 833 the φιάλαι are registered as follows: 70 dr. (l. 25), 146 dr. (28), two of 142 dr. each (28), 140 dr. (29), 139 dr. (29), 149 dr. (29), 138 dr. (29), 202 dr. (30), 204 dr. (30), 195 dr. (30), 193 (30), 201 dr. (30), 196 dr. (30), 201 dr. (30), 100 dr. (64), 96 dr. (65), 72 dr. (115), thirty φιάλαι in l. 106 f. weigh 2519 dr. The φιάλια on the other hand do not weigh over 55 dr. (l. 31), while two weigh only 28 dr. (27, 31), and another 50 dr. (31). Cf. also the compound *ρυτοφιάλιον*, CIA. 836 c-k 10 (270–262 B. C.).

199. H. *Instruments and similar utensils.* It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between diminutives of this kind and instrument nouns which are equivalent to their primitives (§ 77 ff.). The following, however, are with more or less certainty diminutives: *ἀσπίδιον* : *ἀσπίς*, 'a little shield.' Hermipp. frg. 2. 386, ἔχοντες ἴσον ἀσπίδιον ὁγκίῳ. Men. frg. 4. 284 (227), Ἀσπίδιον ἐπριάμην τι καὶ μαχάριον. CIA. 2. 678 B 66 (378–366 B. C.). *διφρίον* : *δίφρος*, 'a little chair or stool.' Timaeus Lex. Plat. 233, Σκολύθρια, ταπεινὰ διφρία παρὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς. id. ib. 273, Χαμαίζηλος, διφρίον μικρόν, ἢ ταπεινὸν σκιμπόδιον. *ἐσχάριον* : *ἐσχάρα*, 'a little hearth.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 129 (279 B. C.), ἐσχάρα σιδηρᾶ . . . [ἐσχά]ριου μικροῦ ἤμου κατεαγός, ὑπόστατον ἔχον. *κλιμάκιον* : *κλιμαξ*, 'a little ladder,'



i. e. one that is slender in structure, though not necessarily short (§ 211 E.). Ar. Pax 69, ἔφασκε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνθαδί· Πῶς ἂν ποτ' ἀφικοίμην ἂν εὐθὺ τοῦ Διός; Ἐπειτα λεπτὰ κλιμάκια ποιούμενος Πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀνεργιχάτ' ἂν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, Ἔως ξυνετρίβη τῆς κεφαλῆς καταρρυεῖς. Aristophon frg. 3. 357, ἀναβῆναί τι πρὸς Κλιμάκιον. μαχαιρίον: μάχαιρα, 'a little dagger.' Men. frg. 4. 284 (227), see sub ἀσπίδιον. πλεγμάτιον: πλέγμα, 'a little plait.' Arist. Part. An. 4. 9. 685 b 5, τὰ πλεγμάτια οἷς οἱ λατροὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς δακτύλους ἐνέβαλλον. σκιμπόδιον: σκίμπους, 'a little pallet.' Phil. frg. 4. 10 (1), Σκιμπόδιον ἐν καὶ κώδιον καὶ ψιχθίον ἴσως παλαιστῆς. σιλεγγίδιον: σιλεγγίς, 'a little scraper.' CIA. 2. 836 c-k 22 (270-262 B. C.), [σ]ιλεγγίδιον χρυσοῦν Δημοστράτου I-II. σφυρίον: σφύρα, 'a little hammer.' Theophr. H. P. 5. 7. 8, see § 78. τερέτριον: τέρετρον, 'a little gimlet.' id. l. c. φαρέτριον: φαρέτρα, 'a little quiver.' Mosch. 2. 20, Καὶ χρύσειον περὶ νῶτα φαρέτριον (sc. ἔχει ὁ Ἔρως).

200. I. Words applying to building or architecture. γεφύριον: γέφυρα, 'a little bridge.' Ael. V. H. 8. 14, ἑαυτὸν φέρων μόνον ἔρριψε κατὰ τινος γεφυρίου<sup>1</sup> πρὸς γυμνασίῳ ὄντος. δοκίον: δοκός, 'a little beam.' Arist. H. A. 4. 7. 532 b 21, φασὶ . . . ἐωρακέναι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ (sc. ζῶα) ὅμοια δοκίαις, μέλανα, στρογγύλα τε καὶ ἱσοπαγῇ. δωμάτιον: δῶμα, 'a little dwelling.' Ar. Ran. 100 (merely for the purpose of ridiculing him Euripides is reported to have used the expression Αἰθέρᾳ Διὸς δωμάτιον. What he really did use is οἴκησιν Διός). θύριον: θύρα, 'a little door.' Ar. Nub. 92, Ὅρᾳς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο καὶ τῷκίδιον; id. Thesm. 26 ff. οἴκημάτιον: οἴκημα, 'a little dwelling.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 834. 11 (Macedonian age), καὶ τὸ οἴκημάτιον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ κορυθῶνος εἰς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον Εὐκράτει Ἐξηκίου Ἀριδναίῳ δραχμῶν [I-II] τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ἀτελὲς ἀπάντων. πιασαστάδιον: παρυστάς, 'a little pillar.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 537. 70 (347-346 B. C.), παρὰ δὲ τὸν κλίονα παρυστάδια στήσει λίθινα. πλινθιον: πλίνθος, perhaps 'a little brick' in CIA. 2. 656. 3-4, χρυσίδια διάλιθα σύμ[μικτα πλιν]θίων καὶ τεττίγων. According to Liddell and Scott πλινθιον is also a diminutive in Xen. Cyr. 7. 1. 24, ὥσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν πλινθιον ἐν μεγάλῳ τεθέν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στρατεύμα πάντοθεν περιείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων. The fact that one brick is conceived as placed within the other, shows that it was 'not a real

<sup>1</sup> In passages like this one the indefinite pronoun τις shows that the word refers to a particularly small specimen. A large bridge is a well known feature of a neighborhood, and would oftener be referred to by the aid of the definite article than the indefinite pronoun.

brick,' but only 'something like a brick,' i. e. a box or square (cf. § 150 s. v.).

201. J. Miscellaneous concrete objects. βωλίον: βῶλος, 'a little lump.' Ar. Vesp. 203, ΞΩ. οἱμοὶ δειλαιοῖς· Πόθεν ποτ' ἐμπέπτωκέ μοι τὸ βωλίον; BAE. ἴσως ἀνωθεν μῦς ἐνέβαλέ σοὶ ποθεν. Arist. Mir. Aud. 46. 833 b 14, φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν Βάκτραις τὸν Ὠξὸν ποταμὸν καταφέρειν βωλία χρυσοῦ πλῆθει πολλὰ. θωράκιον: θώραξ, probably 'a little breast-plate' in CIA. 2. 826. 17. κλασμάτιον: κλάσμα, 'a little fragment.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 34, ἀσπιδίσκης κλασματίον. νομισμάτιον: νόμισμα, 'a little coin,' i. e. one of slight value as well as of small size (§ 211 I). Schol. Ar. Vesp. 213, ἕσσον στίλιν· Ὅτι σημαίνει τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Καλλίστρατος δέ, νομισμάτιόν τι ἐλάχιστον. Poll. 9. 92, οἱ μὲν οὖν χαλκῶ νομισμάτιον ἦν λεπτόν. πλακοίνιον: πλακοῦς, 'a little flat-cake.' Athen. 645 D, ἄρτος κοῖλος καὶ σύμμετρος, ὅμοιος ταῖς λεγομέναις κρηπίσιν, εἰς ἃς ἐντίθεται τὰ διὰ [τοῦ] τυροῦ σκευαζόμενα πλακούντια. σφαιρίον: σφαῖρα, 'a little globe or sphere.' The diminutive meaning is intimately associated with the idea of similarity (§ 150 s. v.), but the former seems to be dominant in Plato Ep. 2. 312 D and in Arist. De An. 1. 4. 409 a 12, where it is used of the molecules of Democritus: ἐκ τῶν Δημοκρίτου σφαιρίων. σωματίον: σῶμα, 'corpuscle.' Arist. De An. 1. 4. 409 a 11, δόξειε δ' ἂν οὐδὲν διαφέρειν μονάδας λέγειν ἢ σωματία μικρά. id. H. A. 4. 1. 525 a 2, ἀμφοτέροις (both sexes of the polyp) δ' ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἐρυθρὰ ἄττα σωματία πρόσσεστιν. ταρίχιον: τάριχος, 'a little dried fish.' Pherecr. frg. 2. 263 (4), σμικρὸν ὀπτῶσ' ὀρφανὸν ταρίχιον. τεμάχιον: τέμαχος, 'a little slice.' Archedicus frg. 4. 436 (2. 2), Δραχμῶν τριῶν γλαυκίσκον, . . . Γόγγρου κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τεμάχια Δραχμῶν πάλιν πέντε. ψιαθιον: ψιάθος, 'a little rush mat.' Phil. frg. 4. 10 (1), ψιαθιον ἴσως παλαιστῆς.

202. K. Diminutives of words designating a material or any indeterminate mass. The diminutive in this case designates a small piece or quantity of the mass.<sup>1</sup> This usage must have arisen when the primitive itself was viewed as designating a piece of the material or something consisting of it. Thus δέρμα is not only 'skin' as a general indeterminate idea, but also may refer to a particular piece of skin. With the latter meaning in mind there is nothing unusual in forming the diminutive δερμάτιον 'a little piece of skin.' σάρξ 'flesh' was already in Homer (τ 450) used of a particular muscle, and so could be thought of as 'a piece of flesh,' whence later σαρκίον 'a little piece of flesh,' i. e. sometimes 'a small quantity

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kessler, Die lat. Dim. p. 1.



of flesh.' Since these diminutives could be referred equally well to the primitive in its usual indetermined sense, it became possible by analogy to such patterns to form new diminutives of this kind without reference to the previous existence of the primitive in a determined sense; στεάτιον 'a little bit of dough,' could be formed from στέαρ 'dough' without thinking of the latter as 'a piece of dough.' Examples: *δερμάτιον*: δέρμα, 'a little piece of skin.' Plato Eryx. 400 A, ἐν δερματίῳ μικρῷ ἀποδέδεται ὅσον γε στατήρος τὸ μέγεθος μάλιστα. *κολοκύντιον*: κολοκύντη, 'a little piece of gourd.' Phryn. Com. frg. 2. 604, Ἡ μαζίου τι μικρὸν ἢ κολοκυντίου,<sup>1</sup> 'a little bit of a piece either of barley bread or gourd.' *μαζιον*: μαῖζα, 'a little bit of barley bread.' id. l. c. *πασμάτιον*: πάσμα, 'a little sprinkling.' Insc. Att. Εφημ. Αρχ. 2. 424 (p. 407), π]ασμάτια [ἔχοντα χρυσᾶ (of some articles of dress). *πυρίον*: πῦρ, 'a little fire.' Cf. the use of the Engl. 'fire' either to designate the phenomenon in general or a particular manifestation of it. Xenophanes ap. Plut. Strom. 4, φησὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ πλειόνων πυρίων ἀθροίζεσθαι. *σαρκίον*: σάρξ, 'a little piece of flesh.' Hipp. 774, ἦν τε ἀσηρὸν ἦ καὶ θραυρόν τι τῶν σαρκίων καὶ δυσαίσθησιν παρέχῃ, φιλὸν δὲ τυγχάνῃ ἐόν, καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀφαιρέσειν χρή. Arist. Part. An. 4. 9. 685 b 7, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰνῶν πεπλεγμέναι (sc. αἱ πλεκτάναι τῶν πολυπόδων) αἷς ἔλκουσι τὰ σαρκία καὶ τὰ ἐνδιδόντα. id. Mirab. 7. 831 a 13, τοὺς τροχίλους φασὶν εἰσπετομένους εἰς τὰ στόματα τῶν κροκοδείλων καθαιρεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀδόντας, τὰ σαρκία τὰ ἐνεχόμενα τοῖς βύγχεσιν ἐξέλκοντας. id. H. A. 2. 11. 503 b 13, σάρκα δ' οὐδαμοῦ ἔχει (sc. ὁ χαμαιλέων) πλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς σιαγόνσιν ὀλίγα σαρκία. ib. 4. 2. 527 a 3, οἱ μὲν οὖν κάραβοι . . . ἔχουσιν . . . μεταξὺ . . . τῶν ὀδόντων σαρκίον γλωττοειδές. ib. 8. 2. 591 a 2, οἱ δὲ πολύποδες μάλιστα κογχύλια συλλέγοντες, ἐξαίροντες τὰ σαρκία τρέφονται τούτοις. *σιεάτιον*: στέαρ, 'a little dough.' Alexis frg. 3. 416, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τευθίδας, τὰ πτερύγι' αὐτῶν συντεμών, στεατίου Μικρὸν παραμύζας, περιπάσας ἡδύσμασιν Λεπτοῖσι χλωροῖς, ὠνθύλευσα. *τυρίον*: τυρός, probably 'a little cheese.' Telecl. frg. 2. 368 (3), Τυρίον ἐπεσθόντα. *ιδάτιον*: ὕδωρ, 'a little bit of water.' Arist. De

<sup>1</sup> In a combination of this kind the idea of small quantity pleonastically has a double expression in the adjective and the diminutive suffix. Though this really is an illogical combination, this interpretation is preferable to taking *κολοκύντιον* e. g. as 'delicious gourd' (§ 195); for the phrase *μικρὸν τι* with the Genetive produces a constellation of thought that is favorable to the interpretation of the diminutive as referring to quantity, and this could not very well be neutralized by logical scruples.

Gen. et Cor. 1. 2. 317 a 28, ἐὰν μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐλάττω ὑδάτια διαίρεθῃ, ὑἄτιον ἀὴρ γίνεται, ἐὰν δὲ συγκριθῇ, βραδύτερον.

203. L. *Diminutives of abstract nouns.* The Greeks did not, at least in the classical times, form diminutives of abstract nouns unless they were distinctly sensualized. There is no counterpart to the Latin *animula* 'a little courage' as found in Cicero ad Att. 9. 7. 1: "Attulit uberrimas tuas litteras; quae mihi quiddam quasi animulae instillarunt." When diminutive *-ιον* was added to a noun that was originally abstract, the latter seems always to have been conceived in a concrete aspect. Thus *δραμάτιον* is not 'a little action,' but 'a little drama'; *φωνίον* is not 'a little sounding,' but 'a slender sound.' Even those cases which seem to be closest to a diminution of abstract ideas, are not so when more carefully considered. *ὠπευμάτιον* 'a little piece of flattery' is shown by the context to refer to the concrete donations with which the sausage maker cajoled Demos. *σχωμμάτιον* 'a little jest' and *λοιδορημάτιον* 'a little piece of calumny,' like every other word of speaking, have a concrete as well as an abstract aspect. The same can be said of names of diseases like *νοσημάτιον* 'a little disease,' *πυρέτιον* 'a little spell of fever,' *βηγίον* 'a little coughing fit.' A disease always has its external features, and it is these which were grasped by the speaker in using the diminutives. That this was actually the case, can be seen from the fact that *βηγίον* is best translated as 'a (little) coughing fit,' and *πυρέτιον* as 'a (little) fever spell,' i. e. these words refer to the length of the individual outward manifestations of the diseases. If the speaker had really thought of the diseases in the abstract way when using the diminutives, the latter could mean nothing else than 'a slight cough' or 'a slight fever,' referring to the vehemence or duration of the whole disease. Very similar also is *ιδρώπιον* 'a partial sweat,' not 'a slight sweat.' The words included in this paragraph are, then, those of which the primitive may be conceived either in an abstract or concrete manner, but since the diminutive is always formed with the latter point of view, there really is no different principle involved than in the formation of a diminutive of which the primitive is always concrete. The examples may be divided into the following groups:

a) Words designating spoken or written utterances or compositions. The diminutive signifies that the utterance is short, i. e. requires little time: *ποιημάτιον* diminutive of *ποίημα*, can be nothing else than 'a short poem,' unless there are deteriorative or hypocoristic elements present. *ᾠσμάτιον*: ᾠσμα, perhaps 'a short song.' Plato Com. ap.



Poll. 4. 64 (without context). *δραμάτιον*: δρᾶμα, 'a little play.' Plut. Dem. 4, Ἦν δὲ ὁ Βάταλος, ὡς μὲν ἔνοιό φασι, ἀνλητῆς τῶν κατεαγόντων, καὶ δραμάτιον εἰς τοῦτο κωμωδῶν αὐτὸν Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. *ἐπιγραμμάτιον*: ἐπίγραμμα, 'a short epigram.' Plut. Cato Maj. 1, Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ὑπόπυρρος καὶ γλαυκός, ὡς ὁ ποιήσας τοῦπιγραμμάτιον οὐκ εὐμενῶς παρεμφαίνει. "Πυρρόν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματον, οὐδὲ θανόντα Πόρκιον εἰς αἰδὴν Περσεφόνη δέχεται." id. 2. 785 B. τοῦτ' δ' ὁμολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τοῦπιγραμμάτιον. "Ὡδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐπέων ὧν Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. *ἐπισιόλιον*: ἐπιστολή, 'a short letter.' Plut. Ages. 13, φέρεται γοῦν ἐπιστόλιον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἰδριέα τὸν Κᾶρα τοιοῦτο. "Νικίας εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀδικεῖ, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἡμῖν ἄφες, πάντως δὲ ἄφες." *κομμάτιον*: κόμμα, 'a short quotation.' Eupol. frg. 2. 559 (31), Εἰωθὸς τὸ κομμάτιον τοῦτο. *λοιδορημάτιον*: λοιδορημα, 'a little piece of raillery.' Ar. ap. Arist. Rhet. 3. 2. 1405 b 32. Since there is no context, the word may just as well be a deteriorative. *ποιημάτιον*: ποίημα, 'a short poem.' Plut. Cic. 2, καὶ τι καὶ ποιημάτιον ἔτι παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, ἐν τετραμέτρῳ πεποιημένον. Athen. 283 D, Ἡρινά τε ἡ ὁ πεποιηκὼς τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναφερόμενον ποιημάτιον. id. 685 B, καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δημαρέτην ἀναφέρεται τι ποιημάτιον ὃ ἐπιγράφεται Τρίφυλλον. *σκαλαθυρημάτιον*: σκαλαθυρημα, 'a little quibble.' Ar. Nub. 630, σκαλαθυρημάτι<sup>1</sup> ἅττα μικρὰ μανθάνων, Ταῦτ' ἐπιλέλησται πρὶν μαθεῖν. *συγγραμμάτιον*: σύγγραμμα, 'a short composition.' Athen. 673 D, τὸ τοῦ Μηνοδότου συγγραμμάτιον.

b) Diseases. *βηχίον*: βήξ, 'a little cough,' i. e. 'a coughing spell.' Hipp. 1201, Ὡς τὸ συρίγγιον ἐπανερρήγνυτο, βηχία ἐκώλυε διαμένειν. *λημίον*: λήμη, 'a little humour' in the eye. Hipp. 153, καὶ τὸ τὰς ὀφθαλμοῦ πυκνὰ διαρρίπτειν, ἡ λημία μικρὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ἡ ἀψίδα λεπτὴν ἴσχειν. *νοσημάτιον*: νόσημα, perhaps 'a slight disease,' but since it only occurs once (Ar. ap. Arist. Rhet. 3. 2. 1405 b 32) and without context, it may just as well be a deteriorative. *πυρέτιον*: πυρετός, 'a fever spell.' Hipp. 1093, πυρέτια ζυνεχέα.

c) Miscellaneous. *θωπευμάτιον*: θώπευμα, 'a little piece of flattery.' Ar. Equ. 788, ΚΑ. Ὡς ἀπὸ μικρῶν εὐνοῦς αὐτῷ θωπευματίων γεγένησαι. ΑΛΛ. Καὶ σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸν πολὺ μικροτέροις τούτων δελεάσματος εἶλες. *ιδρώτιον*: ιδρώς, 'a little sweat,' i. e. 'a partial sweat.' Hipp. 1210, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ ἀρξάμενοι ἀφ' ἐωθινοῦ μέχρι ἐς μέσον ἡμέρας, Ἰδρου

<sup>1</sup> The adjective *μικρά* as well as the fact that Socrates is speaking of his own teachings, shows that *σκαλαθυρημάτιον*, from the stand-point of the speaker, is strictly a diminutive. Seen through the spectacles of the poet, however, there is a deteriorative element present.

ἔλον τὸ σῶμα. . . πρώτη καὶ εἰκοστῇ καὶ ἰδρώτιον περὶ πλευρὸν δεξιὸν καὶ στήθειά καὶ κεφαλὴν. καὶ ἰδρώτιον περὶ τὸ μέτωπον ἦν. *κληρίον*: κληῖρος, 'a little inheritance.' Anth. P. 6. 98, πέπατο γὰρ οὐ μέγα τοῦτο Κληρίον ἐν λυπρῇ τῇδε γεωλοφίῃ. *πνευμάτιον*: πνεῦμα, 'a little wind,' i. e. 'flatulence.' Damoxen. frg. 4. 531 (26). *φωνίον*: φωνή, 'a thin slender sound.' Arist. Audib. 803 b 24, δῆλον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χορδῶν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν λεπτῶν καὶ τὰ φωνία γίνεταί λεπτὰ καὶ στενὰ καὶ τριγῶδη.

### 3. THE DIMINUTIVE DESIGNATES AN OBJECT AS BELONGING TO A SMALL CLASS, OR REFERS TO THE CLASS ITSELF.

204. When a diminutive refers to a whole class as small in comparison with other classes, the final step in the development of the diminutive meaning has been taken. While the use of diminutives to designate an object as smaller than the normal of its class is divided from the function of the suffix to designate similarity by a neutral belt, and the two interpretations shade into each other imperceptibly and with many variations between individuals (§ 186ff.), the interpretation of -ιον as 'that which is like the primitive' is absolutely impossible in any diminutive like *πωλίον* 'a little foal,' i. e. not always one which is smaller than other foals, but small compared to a full grown horse. Small size and youth are the very essence of the meaning of a word for 'foal,' and the smaller or younger an individual foal, the more in point is the meaning of the primitive, so that even when a particularly young foal should be referred to by the diminutive *πωλίον*, the interpretation 'like a foal, but not a real foal' is out of the question. Similarly *παιδίον* 'a little child,' when the idea 'little' is not limiting but descriptive, i. e. when a little child is not contrasted with a larger child, but when any child as being little is contrasted with adults, can not be thought of as 'not a real child,' since in the situation in which the idea 'child' is placed when thus contrasted, small size or youth is considered as the distinguishing characteristic of everything which belongs to the class 'child.' So *παιδιά* 'little children' are contrasted to *γέροντες* 'old men' in the Rhodian Swallow Song 20, Οὐ γὰρ γέροντές ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ παιδιά, 'we are not old men but little (i. e. mere) children.'

205. Since 'little' and 'large' are altogether relative terms, the use of a diminutive referring to a class must always imply comparison with other things which do not belong to that class. Sometimes it refers to objects which are so very much smaller than the large



majority of things which come under observation. that the general comparison with this average is sufficient to suggest small size, without conscious comparison with any distinct individual concepts. This is the case with German words like Spänchen 'chip,' Spinnlein, poetical for 'spider,' or Körnchen 'granule.' With the latter may be compared Gr. σπερμάτιον 'seed.' Sometimes, on the other hand, any concept, no matter how far above the average in size, can be thought of as small by comparison with certain other definite objects. Thus while a man would not by any means seem a small affair under ordinary circumstances, he does appear so in contrast to a monster like the giant Polyphemus, and the latter in Euripides Cycl. 316 therefore addresses Odysseus as ἀνθρωπίσκος 'mannikin,' not meaning, of course, that Odysseus was a particularly small man, but that he considered any human being as small and insignificant compared to his own size and power. Analogous is the situation of παῖδις in the passage quoted § 204, where children are thought of as small or young in comparison with old men, while at other times a child is considered as large compared to a baby, which was designated παῖδιον because too small to be called παῖς (§ 182). Sometimes again an occasion for the use of a diminutive may be given by a word which contains within itself a suggestion of relative small size or youth. The Engl. 'lamb' contains a comparison with the greater size and age of a full grown sheep, and the diminutive 'lambkin' only emphasizes this relation. Similar is the German 'Lämmlein' or the Greek μωσχίον 'a little calf,' in contrast to βοῦς 'cow'; νεόττιον 'a little nestling,' in comparison with ὄρνις 'bird'; πωλίον 'a little foal,' with reference to ἵππος 'horse'; κερμάτιον 'a little κέρμα,' in contrast to larger kinds of coin; κλωνίον 'a little twig,' contrasted with ὄζος 'branch.'

206. When it comes to applying these principles in detail, and to determining which words actually got their -ιον in this way, we are beset with great difficulties. On the one hand, the speaker or writer may have had in mind a contrast as to size between different ideas even when there is no linguistic indication of it; on the other hand, a word which was formed as a diminutive of this kind may become equivalent to its primitive secondarily (§ 220), and it is then often impossible to distinguish these from other cases of equivalence of primitive and -ιον derivative. To judge correctly all of the different words would require a most intimate knowledge of the mental habits of the ordinary Greek people. It would be necessary to determine which objects could appear to them as relatively small, or with

which other objects a certain object was habitually associated, so that the contrast of the two ideas with respect to size could give rise to a diminutive. When, therefore, some one insists that all names of vessels or of articles of dress and ornament which end in -ιον are diminutives referring to a class, it is evident that we can not for every word disprove his theory any more than he can prove it. On the whole, however, it is perfectly clear that this is the wrong method of procedure. Since there are over a half-dozen ways in which an -ιον derivative can become equivalent to its primitive, and since the suffix had, roughly speaking, at least a dozen living functions, it is manifestly unsafe to classify all possible cases as diminutives, and when there does not seem to be a difference in usage between primitive and derivative, the burden of proof rests upon him who claims diminutive origin. He must be able at least to suggest a plausible association between a comparatively large and small object, in order that the latter may call to mind its relatively small size by comparison with the other. That it will be impossible to find such a point of view, from which most names of vessels and the larger articles of dress in -ιον are diminutives, is self-evident.

207. Diminutives referring to a class naturally presuppose an attitude of the speaker which is as different from that to diminutives designating an object as small in comparison with others of the same class, as the attitude to a descriptive adjective is different from that to a limiting adjective. The hearer, however, and still more the reader, will often not be able to follow what was in the mind of the speaker or writer, and consequently the two classes of diminutives can not always be sharply distinguished in actual interpretation. This is particularly true for those words of which the primitives may contain within themselves a comparison as to size with a larger class (§ 205, end). We can not always tell whether the speaker had in mind a particularly small calf when using μωσχίον, or a particularly small child when using παῖδιον; σκυλάκιον designates a particularly young puppy, i. e. one just born, in two passages, and yet we can not be sure of the attitude of the writer, since this may be merely incidental, and he may just as well and better have compared them with full grown dogs as with larger puppies.

208. *Collection of examples.* The different letters under which these are classified refer to the same congeneric classes as in the second section, with the understanding that the precise shading and the accessory ideas are exactly parallel. There are among diminutives



referring to a class no words of which the primitive designates an indeterminate mass, since size or extent can never be a characteristic of one such class in comparison with another.

A. *παιδίον*: *παῖς*, 'a (little) child.' Ar. Pax 50 (in contrast to *ἀνδρίων* and *ἀνὴρ*), see § 159 sub *ἀνδρίων*. id. Plut. 1104 (in contrast to *γυνή*), Ἄλλ' ἐκκάλει τὸν δεσπότην τρέχων ταχύ, Ἐπειτα τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὰ παιδιά, Ἐπειτα τοὺς θεράποντας, εἶτα τὴν κύνα, Ἐπειτα σαυτὸν, ἔπειτα τὴν ὄν. Alexis frg. 3. 439 (3. 9) (in contrast to *γραῦς* and *γέρων*), Κἀνταῦθα καὶ γραῦς καὶ γέρων καὶ παιδίον Περμφυεῖς ἅπαντες ἀγοράσουσι κατὰ τρόπον. Lys. 32. 20, εἰς ὅσον μὲν δυὸν παιδίον καὶ ἀδελφῇ πέντε ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλογίζετο. Hys. 3. 49. 21, λοιπὸν δ' ἐστὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν δικαστῶν καὶ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλεῖν καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἀναβιβάζεσθαι. Plato Legg. 10. 910 C (in contrast to *ἀνὴρ*), ἀσεβήσας μὴ παιδίον ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶν ἀσεβήμα. id. Apol. 34 D (in contrast to *μειράκιον*), οἰκεῖοί μοι εἰσι καὶ υἱεῖς . . . τρεῖς, εἷς μὲν μειράκιον ἤδη, δύο δὲ παιδιά. Rhodian Swallow Song 20 (in contrast to *γέρων*), see § 204.

B. a) *ἄλωπέκιον*: *ἄλωπηξ*, 'a (little) fox.' Ar. Equ. 1076, 1078, ΔΗ. Πῶς δὴ τριήρης ἐστὶ κυναλώπηξ; ΑΛΛ. ὅπως; Ὅτι ἡ τριήρης ἐστὶ γὼ κύων ταχύ. ΔΗ. Πῶς οὖν ἄλωπηξ προσετέθη πρὸς τῷ κυνί; ΑΛΛ. Ἀλωπεκίοισι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤκαθεν Ὅτι βότρυς τρώγουσιν ἐν ταῖς χορίοις. ΔΗ. Εἶεν. Τούτοις δ' μισθὸς τοῖς ἄλωπεκίοισι ποῦ; ἀρνίον: *ἀρνός* (Gen.), 'a (little) lamb,' in contrast to the large price charged for it: Lys. 32. 21, ἐκκαίδεκα δραχμῶν ἀπέφαινε ἐωνημένον ἀρνίον. *κωνώπιον*: *κωνῶψ*, 'a (little) gnat.' Geopon. 2. 5. 12, Συντηρεῖ δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τὸν ἥλιον λάμψει κωνώπια, ἀναπετόμενα εἰς ὄρνυρον ἄνω καὶ συστρεφόμενα. *μοσχίον*: *μόσχος*, 'a (little) calf.' Theocr. 4. 4, Ἄλλ' ὁ γέρων ὑφίητι τὰ μοσχία κήμὲ φυλάσσει. id. ib. 44. *νεότητιον*: *νεότης*, 'a (little) nestling.' Ar. Av. 547, 767, πέρδιξ γενέσθω, τοῦ πατρὸς νεότητιον. Arist. H. A. 4. 9. 536 a 30, ἀηδὼν ἄδει καὶ ὁ ἄρρην καὶ ἡ θήλειαν, πλὴν ἡ θήλειαν παύεται ὅταν ἐπωάξῃ καὶ τὰ νεόττια ἔχῃ. id. ib. 5. 8. 542 b 13, λέγεται δ' ἐν . . . ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέραις τίκτειν τὰ νεόττια καὶ ἐκτρέφειν. ib. 9. 29. 618 a 22, οἱ μὲν φασιν . . . τὸν κόκκυγα κατεσθίειν τὰ τῆς ὑποδεξαμένης ὀρνίθος νεόττια. Secondary is the use of the word for the yolk of eggs. So Diph. frg. 4. 427 (40), Ὡδὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ διέτρεχεν νεόττια. *προβάτιον*: *πρόβατον*, 'a (little) sheep,' in contrast to the larger domestic animals. Ar. Vesp. 955, ἀριστός ἐστι τῶν νυνὶ κυνῶν, Οἷός τε πολλοῖς προβατίοις ἐφροσάναι. id. Pax. 535, προβατίων

<sup>1</sup> The diminutive perhaps because of the petty raids in which the soldiers were engaged, and consequently with a deteriorative shade.

βληγομένων. id. Plut. 299, ζητήσομεν . . . τὸν Κύκλωπα . . . Ἡγούμενον τοῖς προβατίοις. Straton frg. 4. 545 (22), "Μῆλα θυσιάζεις ἄρα"; μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ, . . . προβάτιον δ'. "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "Τὰ μῆλα πρόβατα. μανθάνεις"; *πωλίον*: *πῶλος*, 'a (little) foal.' Ar. Vesp. 189, Pax. 75, Εἰσήγαγ' Αἰτναῖον μέγιστον κύνδαρον, Κἄπειτα τοῦτον ἵπποκομῆν μ' ἠγάγκασεν, Καὶ τὸς καταψῶν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ πωλίον, "ὦ Πηγάσειον," φησί, "γενναῖον πετρόν." Andoc. 1. 61, ἐπὶ πωλίον ἔ μοι ἦν ἀναβάς ἔπεσον. Arist. An. Gen. 2. 8. 748 a 29, ὅπως ἐν ἀλσεινῇ γίνηται ὥρα τὰ πωλία. *σκυλάκιον*: *σκύλαξ*, 'a (little) puppy.' Xen. Cyn. 7. 3, ἐπειδὴν δὲ γένηται τὰ σκυλάκια. ib. 7. 4, ἐπειδὴν δ' ἤδη πλανᾶται τὰ σκυλάκια, διδόναι γάλα μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ. . . αἱ γὰρ βαρεῖται πλησμοναὶ τῶν σκυλακίων διαστρέφουσι τὰ σκέλη. Arist. H. A. 6. 20. 574 a 23, τυφλὰ δὲ γίνονται αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ κυνὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ) τὰ σκυλάκια. *σκυμνίον*: *σκυμνός*, 'a (little) whelp.' Arist. H. A. 9. 1. 608 b 25, τὰς φώκας φασὶ πολεμεῖν, . . . καὶ τὰ σκυμνία ὡσαύτως. ib. 6. 611 b 32, Αἱ δ' ἄρκτοι, ὅταν φεύγωσι, τὰ σκυμνία προωθοῦσι καὶ ἀναλαβοῦσαι φέρουσιν. *χοιρίον*: *χοῖρος*, 'a (little) pigling,' 'a porker.' Ar. Ach. 740 ff. Περίθεσθε τάσδε τὰς ὀπλὰς τῶν χοιρίων. . . Ὅπως δὲ γρυλλιζέετε καὶ κοῖξετε Χῆσεῖτε φωνὰν χοιρίων μυστηρικῶν. Ἐγὼν δὲ καρυζῶ Δικαιόπολιν ἔπα' Δικαιόπολι, ἡ λῆς πρίασθαι χοιρίαν; ib. 808. ποδαπὰ τὰ χοιρί;

B. b) *ἀρνίον*. Eubul. frg. 3. 212 (9), Παρεγκέκαπται τ' ἀρνί' <sup>1</sup> ἐννέ' ἢ δέκα. Ὡστ' εἴ τι βούλει τῶν λελειμμένων φαγεῖν, Ἐπειγ' ἔπειγε. id. frg. 3. 268 (15 a 4), Πνίγειν τε παχέων ἀρνίων στηθύνια. *δελφάκιον*: *δέλφαξ*, 'a (little) pigling.' Ar. Thesm. 237, Εἴπ. Ἀνίστασ', ἵνα ἀφύσω σε, καὶ γὰρ ὕψας ἔχε. MNH. Οἷμαι κακοδαίμων, δελφάκιον γενήσομαι. id. Lys. 1061, καὶ δελφάκιον ἦν τί μοι, Καὶ τοῦτο τέτυχ', ὥστε κρέ' ἔδεσθ' ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλὰ. id. frg. 2. 1026, Καὶ δελφάκιον ἀπαλῶν κωλαῖ καὶ γκυματῖα πετρεῖντα. Eubul. frg. 3. 234, Θύνου τέμαχος, κρέα δελφάκιον. id. frg. 3. 205 (9), ὅπτα δελφάκια Ἀλίπαστα τρία. *ἐρίγιον*: *ἐρίγος*, 'a (little) kid.' Athenion frg. 4. 558 (30), Ἐρίγιον ἐτακέρωσε, πνικτὸν διέλαβεν, Περικομματίῳ διεγίγγρας ὑποκρούσας γλυκεῖ. *μοσχίον*. Ephipp. frg. 3. 334 (1. 12), see § 193 b sub *ἄλεκτρονίον*. *χοιρίον*. Antiphan. frg. 3. 100, χοιρίων Σκέλη καπύρ'.

D. *καλίκιον*: *κάλξ*, 'a (little) calyx.' Hes., καλῖξεις· ῥόδων καλίκια. *κλαδίον*: *κλάδος*, 'a young shoot.' Anth. P. 9. 78, Ὅπποσα γὰρ κλαδίσι πεπαίνομεν, ἄλλος ἐφέλκει. *κλωνίον*: *κλών*, 'a (little) twig.' Theophr. H. P. 3. 13. 5, περὶ ἓνα μίσχρον παχὺν καὶ ἰνώδη ὡς ἂν κλωνίον τὰ μὲν ἐνθεν τὰ δὲ ἐνθεν . . . πεφύκασι. id. ib. 4. 3. 11, ὅταν δὲ τις ἀψήγεται

<sup>1</sup> The idea of small size has here given way altogether to that of deliciousness.



τῶν κλωνίων, ὥσπερ ἀφαιρινόμενα τὰ φύλλα συμπίπτειν φασίν. *λεπίριον*: *λέπυρον*, 'a (little) peel or husk.' Hipp. 242, ὁκόταν δὲ κάτω βεβαίως ῥιζωθῇ τὸ φυόν, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ποιήται, τότε ἤδη πᾶν καὶ ἀνήλωται ἐς τὸ φυόν πλὴν τοῦ λεπυρίου, ὅτι στερεώτατόν ἐστιν. αὖτις δὲ τὸ λεπύριον σαπὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄδηλον γίνεται χρόνῳ δὴ. *σπερμάτιον*: *σπέρμα*, 'a (little) seed.' Theophr. ap. Athen. 66 E, τὸ μὲν (sc. γένος τοῦ πεπέρους) στρογγύλον, . . . τὸ δὲ πρόμηκες, μέλαν, σπερμάτια μηχανικὰ ἔχον. Diosc. 2. 211, καρπὸς δὲ (sc. τοῦ χειλιδονίου) . . . λεπτός, μακρὸς ὡς κῶνος, ἐν ᾧ σπερμάτια μεῖζονα μήκωνος.

E. *ψακάδιον*: *ψακάς*, 'a (slight) dripping rain.' Poliochus frg. 4. 590 (5), γενομένου ψακαδίου. Theophr. C. P. 2. 9. 3, ὅταν ψακάδια καὶ δρόσοι πέσωσιν εἰσδυόμενα κατὰ τὸ ἄνθος ἀνυγραίνει.

H. *θρανίον*: *θράνος*, 'a (little) foot-stool,' probably by contrast to the greater size of chairs and the like. Ar. Ran. 121. *σκιμπόδιον*: *σκιμπους*, 'a (little) pallet bed,' in contrast to the larger and higher beds. Luc. Asin. 3, Σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κλίνης κοιμήσῃ, τῷ δὲ παιδί σου σκιμπόδιον αὐτοῦ παραθήσω καὶ προσκεφάλαιον ἐπιθήσω. *σκολύθριον*: *σκόλυθρον*, 'a (little) foot-stool,' cf. *θρανίον*. Plato Euthyd. 278 B, οἱ τὰ σκολύθρια τῶν μελλόντων καθιζήσεσθαι ὑποσπῶντες χαίρουσι καὶ γελῶσιν, ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσιν ὑπτιον ἀνατετραμμένον. *χαμεύριον*: *χαμεύνη*, 'a (little) pallet bed,' cf. *σκιμπόδιον*. Plato Symp. 220 D, χαμεύνια ἐξενεγκάμενοι ἅμα μὲν ἐν τῇ ψύχει καθησθόν. Luc. Asin. 51.

J. *ἀγκίστριον*: *ἀγκίστρον*, 'a (little) hook.' Theocr. 21. 57, Ἡρέμα δ' αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἰχθύν) ἐκ τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ ἀπέλυσα, Μὴ ποτε τῷ στόματός τ' ἀγκίστρια<sup>1</sup> χρυσὸν ἔχοιεν. *δραχμίον*: *δραχμή*, 'a (little) drachma,' in contrast to larger values. Aristaeas de LXX Interpr. p. 241, εἴκοσι δραχμίαι δοθήσεται. *κερμάτιον* 'a (little) κέρμα,' in contrast to larger coins. Men. Her. 26, κερμάτιον εἰ συνηγμένον Ἐνδὸν τι κρύπτεις. Philipp. ap. Poll. 9. 88. *λεπτίον* 'a (little) λεπτόν,' in contrast to larger coins. Pap. Berol. 14. 4. 18. *τεμάχιον*: *τέμαχος*, 'a (little) slice or part,' in contrast to the whole. Plato Symp. 191 E, ὅσοι δὲ ἄρρενος τμημά εἰσι, τὰ ἄρρενα διώκουσι, καὶ τέως μὲν ἂν παῖδες ὦσιν, ἅτε τεμάχια ὄντα τοῦ ἄρρενος, φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ χαίρουσι συγκατακείμενοι.

#### 4. ASSOCIATED AND ACCESSORY DIMINUTIVE NOTIONS.

209. The term 'diminutive,' even as used here, does not designate an absolutely homogenous body of usages, but it is the most

<sup>1</sup> The text is probably corrupt. At any rate the Plural causes trouble for the usual diminutive interpretation.

frequent and representative use which has given rise to the name, while other related meanings are frequently combined with the idea of small size or even take its place. These are partly present from the very beginning, because the pattern types had other elements in their meaning in addition to that of small size. So the idea of youth came from the pattern *παιδίον* (§ 192) or words designating the young of animals (§ 183), and in the same way other associated diminutive ideas may be derived from other pattern types, even though the latter should happen to be lost, and thus do not allow us to judge with certainty whether a given shade of meaning was present from the beginning or was secondary. Other variations of the diminutive meaning are due to the influence of the stem meanings of certain words upon the idea of small size (§ 191). Thus a little poem is a short one, i. e. one that requires a short space of time for perusal, a small coin is one of slight value, a little roast chicken is one that is tender and delicious, etc. These accessory elements may then be transferred with the idea of small size to words where they could not originate, or after the accessory element becomes dominant, it may develop further on independent lines without the slightest reference to the original diminutive notion. So *γναυμάτιον* 'a delicious (little) slice,' although a little slice is not in itself more delicious than a large one; *περικουμμάτιον* 'delicious mince-meat'; etc.

210. Other variations of the diminutive idea arise by semantic syncretism. In the first place the older diminutive suffix *-ισκο-* probably thrust upon the later *-ιον* some of its own uses; but which they were is totally uncertain, because the same uses may in every case be due to the independent development of *-ιον* itself. As a designation of small size or youth *-ιον* was also equivalent to certain adjectives meaning 'small' or 'young,' notably *μικρός*, *λεπτός*, and *νέος*. In addition there was a formal bond of association between such adjectives and diminutive suffixes, since the former often modified diminutives in order to emphasize or direct their meaning. The resulting feeling of equivalence allowed any meaning of these adjectives to be transferred to the diminutive suffix, even when the latter could not have developed the same meaning independently. For *μικρός* and *νέος* this is of less importance, because their meaning is quite narrow, and their development of accessory notions was not different from those through which the diminutive suffix must have passed on its own accord. The adjective *λεπτός*, on the other hand, had a much wider sphere of meaning than can be expressed by the trans-



lation 'little.' Originally it was 'peeled,' 'husked,' and 'little' was only one of the many secondary developments, though the very one which caused the feeling of equivalence with the diminutive suffix. The latter consequently took upon itself such divergent uses as in the following phrases: λεπτόν δερμάτιον 'a delicate skin' (§ 211 D), λεπτόν φωνίον 'a thin delicate sound' (§ 203 c), λεπτόν κλιμάκιον 'a thin ladder' (§ 199). So also the conglutinate -ιδιον in πυρίδια λεπτά 'fine wheat' (§ 315. XI. 3 C).

211. Below is given a sketch of the principal associated and accessory diminutive notions without paying attention to the distinction as to whether the diminutive refers to an individual or to a class, since this is unimportant from our present point of view. Such variations of meaning as have been treated in the discussion of the different congeneric groups (§ 191), will receive mere mention here.

A. The idea of descent, probably derived from the diminutive meaning in words designating the young of animals, though otherwise a much older meaning than the diminutive (§ 94 f.).

B. The idea of youth, inherent in the beginning in some of the pattern types (§ 182 f.), and productive in names of animals and plants (§ 193 ff.).

C. 'Tender,' 'delicious,' derived from the use of young animals and plants as articles of diet (§ 193 ff.), productive not only in words designating these, but other articles of diet as well (§ 231).

D. 'Soft,' 'delicate,' 'luxuriant,' 'elegant': due partly to the development of hypocoristic notions (§ 240), partly perhaps to the use of -ιον in the meaning 'thin,' 'slender' (E), partly to the influence of the adjective λεπτός (§ 210). Examples: δαπιδιον: δάπης, 'a soft, luxuriant carpet.' Hipparch. frg. 4. 431 (3), δαπιδιον ἐν ἀγαπητὸν ποικίλον. δερμάτιον: δέρμα, 'delicate skin.' Arist. Physiogn. 3. 807 b 18, εὐφροῦς σημεῖα σάρξ ὑγροτέρα, . . . τὸ δερμάτιον λεπτόν. λωμάτια: λῶμα, 'delicate fringe of a robe.' Anth. P. 11. 210, Ἄνδρα καὶ δάφνην παραβύεται ὁ στρατιώτης Αὔλος, ἀποσφίγγας μήλινα λωμάτια. καὶ δάφνην παραβύεται ὁ στρατιώτης Αὔλος, ἀποσφίγγας μήλινα λωμάτια. ταπήτιον: τάπη, 'a soft luxuriant carpet.' Alciph. frg. 18, Ἐπὶ αὐτῆς βουλομένην ἂν τῆς πόας κατακλιθεῖναι, ἣ ἐπὶ τῶν ταπητίων ἐκείνων. καὶ τῶν μαλθακῶν ὑποστρωμάτων, νῆ Δία. τρικλίνιον: τρίκλινος, 'luxuriant dining-room' (? see § 52). Theopomp. Com. frg. 2. 816 (2), Ἐπίνομεν μετὰ ταῦτα . . . Κατακείμενοι μαλακώτατ' ἐπὶ τρικλινίῳ. τριχωμάτιον: τρίχωμα, 'a soft luxurious growth of hair.' Arist. Physiogn. 3. 807 b 5. δειλοῦ σημεῖα τριχωμάτων μαλακῶν κτλ. ib. 18, τὸ δερμάτιον λεπτόν, τριχωμάτιον μὴ λίαν σκληρὸν μηδὲ λίαν μέλαν.

E. 'Thin,' 'slender'; due to the nature of the object to which the diminutive is applied, and to the adjective λεπτός. For κλιμάκιον see § 199. Similarly σπαρτίον: σπάρτον, 'a thin rope,' 'chord.' Ar. Pax. 1247; Arist. Probl. 7. 9. 888 a 21, Mech. 2. 850 a 3. More uncertain is τρίχιον: τρίξ, which, if it belongs here at all, must refer to hair in general; for it is applied to curly hair (Arist. Probl. 33. 18. 963 b 10, Διὰ τί οἱ οὐλότριχες, καὶ οἷς ἐπέστραπται τὸ τρίχιον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ συμώτεροι;), of which neither softness nor thinness is a particular characteristic.

F. 'Short,' i. e. requiring little time, or taking up little space on paper, the natural development of the diminutive meaning in names of poems etc. (§ 203 a). Similarly βηχίον 'a coughing fit' may be thought of as 'a short cough,' πυρέτιον 'a fever-spell' as 'a short fever' (§ 203 b).

G. The diminutive designates a part of a larger phenomenon, due entirely to the nature of the primitive. So βηχίον 'a coughing fit' and πυρέτιον 'a fever spell' (§ 203 b); also ἰδρώτιον 'a partial sweat' (§ 203 c).

H. 'Small in quantity,' when the primitive designates a material or an indeterminate mass (§ 202).

I. 'Of little value,' due to the application of diminutives to words designating coins. νομισμάτιον, originally 'a little coin,' was usually also one of small value. When the latter idea became dominant, the word could designate a coin of little value even if it was made of base metal, and so larger in size than more valuable gold coins. Similarly δραχμίον, κερμάτιον, and λεπτίον (§ 208 J).

J. 'Thin,' 'slender,' referring to sound, in φωνίον (§ 203 c). It is due entirely to the influence of the adjective λεπτός (§ 210).

212. Combinations of deteriorative and diminutive meaning, which may result either from a secondary deteriorative shade in diminutives, or from a pattern type in which the idea 'that which is like the primitive' had reference both to inferiority of size and other qualities, are mentioned § 151, 168, and 213. The development of the hypocoristic use will be discussed in the next chapter. There remain a few modifications of the diminutive meaning which are caused not by a single word or group of words, but by the general situation which belongs to the whole sentence.

213. In the first place, a speaker will often represent something with which he himself is connected as a little thing in order to give the impression of modesty, and the same motive frequently causes



the use of a diminutive. Just as in English people speak of their 'little home' or their 'little city,' so the Greek could use a diminutive in the same situation. As long as the object referred to really is a small one, the impression of modesty gained by the use of the diminutive is quite secondary, so e. g. in the use of *πολίχιον* ἡμῶν 'our little city' in Plato (§ 196), or of *ἀσπίδιον* and *μαχαίριον* in Menander (§ 199). It becomes the primary factor, however, when the object is not in itself comparatively small, but the speaker uses the diminutive to represent it as small in his own estimation. In this case he may sometimes profess a slight contempt for the object mentioned,<sup>1</sup> which seems, however, to be altogether incidental and secondary to the diminutive idea. Cf. the Latin *judicium nostrum* 'our humble judgment.' Of Greek *-ιον* in this use I have found the following examples: *ἀγάλματιον*: *ἀγάλμα*, 'a little gift.' Theopomp. Com. frg. 2. 810, Καί σε τῇ νοσηνίᾳ Ἀγαλματίοις ἀγαλοῦμεν αἰεὶ καὶ δάφνῃ ('we honor you with our little gifts'). *ἀμπέλιον*: *ἀμπέλως*, 'a little vine.' Ar. Ach. 512, ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὐπὶ Ταυάρῳ θεός, Σείσας ἄκασιν (sc. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις) ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας. Κάμοι γάρ ἐστιν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα ('my few little vines have been cut down').<sup>2</sup> *πραγματίον*: *πράγμα*, 'a little affair.' Ar. Nub. 197, Μήπω γε, μήπω γ' ἄλλ' ἐπιμεινάντων, ἵνα Αὐτοῖσι κοινώσω τι πραγματίον ἐμόν ('that I may impart to them a little business affair of mine'). *ῥηματίον*: *ῥῆμα*, 'a little phrase.' Ar. Ach. 444, Δεῖ γὰρ . . . Τοὺς μὲν θεατὰς εἰδέναι μ' ὅς εἰμ' ἐγώ, Τοὺς δ' αὖ χορευτὰς ἡλιθίους παρεστάναι, Ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὺς ῥηματίοις σκιμαλίσω.

214. Such expressions with a show of modesty may become habitual, and consequently lose their original meaning. After the last suggestion of this is effaced, such a word can also be used by the speaker to refer to something belonging to a different person, and then the diminutive differs from the primitive only in having a certain colloquial flavor, which clings to it from the original idea. So *βιότιον* (: *βίος*), doubtless originally 'this scant means of sustenance' of mine, has become a mere colloquialism for *βίος* in Ar. Plut. 1165. EPMHΣ. Ἐναγώνιος τείνουν ἔσομαι. καὶ τί ἐπ' ἐρεῖς; Πλούτῳ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο συμφερότατον, Ποιεῖν ἀγῶνας μουσικοὺς καὶ γυμνικοὺς. ΚΑΡ. Ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστ' ἐπωνυμίας πολλὰς ἔχειν. Οὗτος γὰρ ἐξεύρηκεν αὐτῷ βιότιον.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schwabe, De Dim. Graec. et Lat. 20.

<sup>2</sup> One might be tempted to take *ἀμπέλιον* as used hypocoristically, with a force of the suffix like the adjective *φίλος* in Homer, or the German 'lieb' in 'das liebe Brot' etc., but there are no parallels for *-ιον* in this meaning.

215. Closely related to the use of a diminutive because of modesty is the use of one designating an object of which the speaker asks that it shall be given to him. This is already repeatedly mentioned by the Greek grammarians, e. g. in the scholia to Dionysius Thrax AB. 855, ἱππάριον μοι χάρισαι· μειῶ γὰρ τὸ ζητούμενον, ἵνα ἐτοιμότερον πρὸς τὸ δοῦναι ποιήσω τὸν ἔχοντα. Similarly Michael Syngelus ap. Cram. Anecd. 4. 273. 9, γίνεται δὲ τὰ ὑποκοριστικά . . . δι' ἀναγκαιότατα, ὡς ἐὰν ὁ αἰτῇ τις σμικρύνῃ, ἵνα μὴ μεγάλην ποιήσῃ τὴν χάριν· ὃ κέχρηται οἱ κωμικοί, ὡς ἔχει τὸ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ λεβήτιον. The motive, then, as understood by the Greek grammarians, was the desire to appear modest in asking. This is, however, combined with a certain hypocoristic element, which may partly be secondary to the diminutive, in as much as a situation in which one asks for a favor is necessarily one in which a coaxing tone is employed, and this endearment may easily become centered upon the diminutive as designating the object of the entreaty, and so the most important word in the sentence. Sometimes, on the other hand, the hypocorism may be due to the use of *-ιον* as an exponent of the mood of the speaker, without necessarily being attached to the word which is the logical object of the endearment (§ 244 f.), and then the hypocoristic is the principal element. So certainly in the second example of *σπυρίδιον* (below), where the speaker is not asking for a basket, but for something to put into the basket he already has. The best examples occur in the begging scene of Ar. Ach. 404 ff., where are found the following diminutives of this kind: *βακτηρίον*: *βακτηρία*, 'a little beggar's staff' (l. 448, Ἀτὰρ δέομαι γε πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου), *ράκιον*<sup>1</sup>: *ράκος*, 'a little rag or fragment' (l. 415, ἀλλ' ἀντιβολῶ πρὸς τῶν γονάτων σ' Εὐριπίδῃ, Δός μοι ράκιόν τι τοῦ παλαιοῦ δράματος. *σπογγίον*: *σπόγγος*, 'a little sponge' (l. 463, Ἀλλ' ὃ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδῃ, τοῦτ' ἐμόν, Δός μοι χυτρίδιον σπογγίῳ βεβυσμένον), *σπυρίδιον*: *σπυρίς*, 'a little basket' (l. 453, Εὐριπίδῃ, Δός μοι σπυρίδιον διακεκαυμένον λύχνῳ. l. 469, ὃ γλυκύτατ' Εὐριπίδῃ, Τοῦτ' λαβὼν ἄπαιμι κοῦ πρόσειμ' ἐτι· Ἐς τὸ σπυρίδιον ἱσχνά μοι φυλλεῖα δός), *χυτρίδιον*: *χυτρίς*, 'a little jar' (l. 463, see sub *σπογγίον*). In the same passage occur two words ending in conglutinates of *-ιον*: *πιδίδιον* (§ 315. XI. 3 E), and *κοτυλίσιον* (§ 343).

216. A diminutive referring to a class, when there is a particularly vivid comparison between the relative size or extent of the object designated by the diminutive and other objects, may sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the apparent diminutive force of *ράκιον* is merely accidental; for it is oftener used with non-diminutive force (§ 130 a).



be translated 'nothing greater than,' 'merely,' and the like. This may or may not be combined with a judgment of inferiority, and in the latter case the development is totally independent of the deteriorative use of the suffix. Thus there is no idea of intimating that life is an undesirable thing in the use of *πνευμάτιον*: *πνεῦμα*, 'mere life,' in Polyb. 15. 31. 5, ἐδέοντο τῶν σωματοφυλάκων πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, δηλοῦντας ὅτι τῆς ἐπιτροπείας ἐκχωροῦσι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐξουσίας καὶ τῶν τιμῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν χορηγίων ὧν ἔχουσι πάντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πνευμάτιον<sup>1</sup> δέονται συγχωρηθῆναι σφίσι μετὰ τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς. Similarly *σκωμμάτιον*: *σκῶμμα*, 'merely a jest.' Ar. Vesp. 1289, καὶ δ' ἔτ' ἀπεδειρόμεν, Οὐκὸς ἐγέλων μέγα κεκραγόντα θεωμένοι, Οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἐμοῦ μέλον, ὅσον δὲ μόνον εἰδέναι Σκωμμάτιον εἶποτέ τι θλιβόμενος ἐκβαλῶ. When there is a judgment of inferiority combined with the diminutive idea, there is no way of telling whether the notion 'merely' originated from that of small size as above, or from the deteriorative use of the suffix (§ 167 f.). An example in which the two have coalesced so as to be undistinguishable is *πλακοῦντιον*: *πλακοῦς*, 'merely a flat-cake,' Epict. 2. 16. 25, τὰ γούν παιδία εὐθύς, ὅταν κλαύσῃ μικρὰ τῆς τίτθης ἀπελθούσης, πλακοῦντιον λαβόντα ἐπιλέλυσται. θέλεις οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς παιδίους ὁμοιωμεν; οὐ, νῆ τὸν Δία. οὐ γὰρ πλακουτίου τοῦτο πάσχειν ἀξιῶ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δογματῶν ὀρθῶν.

##### 5. FADED DIMINUTIVES.

217. Diminutives properly so called can lose their character in two different ways. When they designate an object as smaller than others of its class, the meaning can fade only if the diminutive designates something which comes to be looked upon as a different concept from the primitive. Thus when *παιδίον* 'baby' was thought of as 'a little child,' there was involved a reference to the primitive which necessarily kept the diminutive force intact; but, since the idea 'baby' is one of a series referring to ages, *παιδίον* could stand for the conception of a person of the requisite size and age without reference to the primitive, i. e. without any analysis at all, just as *γέρων* designates an old man and yet is one unanalyzed idea. When a word is thus interpreted as a whole, the suffixal meaning has faded, at least for the time being. Frequent usage is all that is

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun *αὐτί* shows that *πνευμάτιον* must have been understood as 'bare life,' and that its suffix was not due to the entreaty, as in the word of § 215.

needed to convert this into permanent obliteration of the diminutive meaning. Similar fading of the idea of small size may take place in words like *σφυρίον* 'a small kind of hammer,' and *τερέτριον* 'a small kind of gimlet' (§ 199); for the carpenter may think of the larger and smaller kinds of the same instruments as quite distinct from each other, just as a musician thinks of a flute and piccolo as different. So *παραστάδιον* 'a small kind of pillar' (§ 200) was probably a different architectural concept than its primitive, and *θύριον* 'a little door,' 'wicket' different from *θύρα* 'a door' of the ordinary size.

218. When the idea of small size in a particular word has once faded, it does not by any means follow that all speakers at all times will henceforth lose sight of its diminutive character. The latter may crop out again and again as long as there are no such phonetic or semantic changes developed that connection of the diminutive with the primitive can not occur spontaneously.<sup>1</sup> Thus the German *Plättchen* 'cooky,' originally 'little plate,' is usually thought of without analysis, because the concept suggested by the diminutive is of such a distinct nature that no reference to the more general *Platte* 'plate' would ordinarily be made; yet situations occur in which e. g. the analogy of other diminutives can bring back the consciousness of the structure of the word to the speaker's mind. On the whole it may be said that the oftener a word is used, the less likely will it be to suffer analysis, and words like *παιδίον*, which were in daily or hourly use, would be analysed most rarely and fade most easily.

219. A particular kind of fading of diminutive meaning may occur when the diminutive is used metaphorically, i. e. is applied to an object different from the primitive in addition to being smaller,<sup>2</sup> e. g. *θυλάκιον* 'little bag' applied to a seed capsule, or the German *Schneeglöckchen*. When the supposed diminutive of this kind designates a larger object than the primitive, this view can not be maintained (§ 135, end); but for some words like the above mentioned *θυλάκιον* it is not impossible that the speaker formed them with no other idea than 'little,' while its metaphorical use was merely in-

<sup>1</sup> One of these developments may be the loss of the primitive, in which case the diminutive meaning must necessarily be lost forever. It must be born in mind, however, that the loss of the primitive can not be the efficient cause of the fading of diminutives, but merely the cause of the permanency of such fading. If the primitive to a living diminutive is lost, the diminutive is also lost, because it has no word to which it can be referred.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 13. 673.



cidental. The extent, however, to which this process is assumed is certainly not justifiable; the whole *κεράτιον* type has its root in the function of *-ιον* to designate similarity (§ 136), which was an older use than the diminutive, and so furnished the models for most of these words. Absolutely beyond the realm of possibility is a number of words which are supposed to be faded diminutives of this kind by Janson, op. cit. p. 24 ff. It contains even words like *ἀργύριον* and *χλκίον*, in which the *-ιον* meant 'made of,' and which do not show the slightest suggestion of diminutive meaning.

220. The second method by which diminutives can lose their character concerns those which refer to a class. Unless the situation points to a very strong contrast of size between the diminutive and other classes, there is continual probability that the hearer will not coincide with the speaker. Thus when the latter used *παιδίον* 'a little child,' he may have referred even to a child of twelve or fourteen years of age, because he thought of the size of any child as small compared to that of an adult. The hearer, however, when there were no strong indications of this in the situation, would usually not be able to follow the speaker, and would perceive *παιδίον* as used exactly like *πᾶς*. He could then himself go on and use the diminutive in place of the primitive without qualification. It is evident that any diminutive referring to a class and suffering a more than occasional usage, may fade in this manner; the difficulty is merely to determine which words were diminutives to begin with (cf. § 206), and when the diminutive meaning has ceased to be felt. Examples for the probable fading of this kind of diminutive may be found under most words of § 208. I may mention *προβάτιον* = *πρόβατον* 'sheep' (last example), *καλύκιον* = *κάλυξ* 'calyx,' *λεπύριον* = *λέπυρον* 'husk,' *σπερμάτιον* = *σπέρμα* 'seed' (cf. Diosc. 2. 211, *σπερμάτια μεῖζονα μήκωνος*), *χαμεύιον* = *χαμύνη* 'pallet bed.' Most easily those words become equivalent to their primitive, of which the root part already carried with it the idea of small size or youth as compared to something else. Since *πῶλιον* 'a (little) foal' does not contrast its size and age with a full-grown horse merely by means of its suffix, but the primitive *πῶλος* contains within itself the same suggestion, the suffix *-ιον* had from the beginning no other function than to emphasize this relation, and only frequent usage of the diminutive was required to efface this slight difference.

## 6. SECONDARY DIMINUTIVES.

221. In order that a given *-ιον* word of non-diminutive meaning should be reinterpreted as a diminutive, there must be stronger influences at work than the mere incidental application of the word to a small object. Large and small things are ever present to the eye, and oftener than not we refer to something without thinking anything about its size. When, therefore, *θηρίον*, the generic term for 'animal,' is used of a small animal like an insect (§ 118 A, second note to *θηρίον*), it does not by any means follow that it was actually interpreted as a diminutive. This is only possible when there is something to show that the idea of small size was really a part of the conception of the speaker.

222. The prime requisite for the reinterpretation of an old *-ιον* word as a diminutive is that it should not differ materially from the primitive in meaning, so that there exists a pair of a word with and one without *-ιον* which are virtually equivalent. The suffix then, because not charged with any definite meaning, is ready to receive a new interpretation. Since the diminutive relation is by far the most frequent for such words, other pairs which are not preempted by other distinct meanings of *-ιον* can be attracted so as to be in the same relation to each other. The less often an *-ιον* word of this kind is used, the less definite and strong its semantic picture exists in the mind, the more easily can the diminutive meaning be thrust upon it. More or less probable examples are *ἀργύριον* : *ἀργυρος*, originally 'anything made of silver,' 'silver money,' but once perhaps 'a little silver coin' (§ 101 A sub *ἀργύριον*, last example); *δαίμονιον* : *δαίμων*, originally an adjectival abstract with the meaning 'divinity,' then equivalent to its primitive, and finally limited to the lesser divinities (§ 38, last note); *ψυκτήριον* : *ψυκτήρ*, 'wine-cooler,' originally identical with primitive, but apparently a diminutive twice (§ 77). The influence of the diminutives also seems to have caused the distinction between *τέττιξ* and *τεττιγόνιον*, 'locust' and 'small kind of locust.' Cf. Arist. H. A. 5. 30. 556 a 20, *καλοῦσι δέ τινες τοὺς μὲν μεγάλους καὶ ἄδοντας* (sc. *τῶν τεττίγων*) *ἀγέτας*, *τοὺς δὲ μικροὺς τεττιγόνια*. A most striking example of the influence of diminutives, probably a case of intentional regulation by the grammarians, is *μέριον*, usually equivalent to *μόρος* or *μέρος* 'part' (§ 35), but designating prefixes and the suffixed particle *-δε* in contrast to *μέρος* 'a part of speech' in the Etymologicum Magnum, and so considered



a diminutive to the latter. Cf. op. cit. 141. 47, 51, Τὸ ἄλφα οὐκ ἔστι μέρος λόγου, ἀλλὰ μόριον. . . . οὕτω καὶ τῶν μερῶν τοῦ λόγου μέρη εἰσι τὰ μόρια. ib. 142. 4 Στερητικὰ μόρια πέντε· Α, . . . ΝΕ, . . . ΝΗ, . . . ΝΩ, . . . ΝΟ. ib. 808. 9, Ἰλιόνδε. Τὸ ΔΕ οὐκ ἔστι μέρος λόγου, ἀλλὰ μόριον.

223. Occasion for the reinterpretation of -ιον words as diminutives can also be given by certain external influences, just as in case of the corresponding deterioratives (§ 174 ff.). In the first place, the frequent use of adjectives like μικρός and λεπτός with -ιον diminutives could cause non-diminutives in -ιον to become interpreted as diminutives if modified by the same adjectives; for the adjective will then call attention to the small size of an object and allows<sup>1</sup> the suffix to be connected with that idea, and so to be recognized as the same which is so often a diminutive suffix. The best example of this is *πινάκιον* (§ 101 C) in Dem. 8. 28, εἰ γὰρ δεινὰ ποιεῖ Διοπαίδης καὶ κατὰγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρόν πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντ' ἐπισχεῖν δύναται ἄν. So also *τριβώνιον* (§ 130 a) in Ar. Lys. 278, Σμικρόν ἔχων πᾶν τριβώνιον, and *ψυκτίριον* in the first two examples of § 77.

224. In the second place, the collocation of a non-diminutive -ιον word with real diminutives may call attention to the fact that the former has the same suffix as the latter, and so cause it to be reinterpreted as a diminutive. So *ἀκόντιον* (§ 127) in Thuc. 2. 4. 3, στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου. *γαστριον* (§ 101 F) in Nicostratus frg. 3. 279, Εἴτ' ὀρνιθάριον, τὸ περιστέριον, τὸ γάστριον. Com. Anon. frg. 4. 608 (27 b), Περιφέρειν ματτύην καὶ ποδάριον, Καὶ γαστρίον τακερόν τι καὶ μήτρας ἴσως. *σανίδιον* (§ 101 C) in CIA. 2. 835 c-l 87, τυπ[ι]δία ἐπὶ σανιδίου δύο.

225. In how far these processes were really operative in causing the reinterpretation of -ιον words as diminutives in post-Classical times, can not, of course, be determined except by extended research in the late literature. For the Classical period, however, there are no indications that this has taken place to any very great extent, not even for words which might be taken as diminutives referring to a class, e. g. *ἀκόντιον* 'javelin,' which, as designating a missile of small size compared to a spear, might be supposed to have taken upon itself a diminutive meaning with this relation in view, which would be all the easier because any diminutive referring to a class has exactly the

<sup>1</sup> Such reinterpretation is, of course, as uncertain and varies as much as for deterioratives. Cf. § 171.

same breadth of application as the primitive, and consequently, when a word is thus reinterpreted, no change in its sphere of application results. Aside from the fact, however, that there is scarcely any indication that such words secondarily came to be felt that way, many of the same type, e. g. those designating the larger vessels and articles of dress, were kept from reinterpretation by the same limitations which prevent our presuming them to be diminutives at their first formation (§ 205 f.). On the other hand, words in -ιον which designated something 'like' their primitive, but smaller, were very probably largely reinterpreted as diminutives (§ 136, 189).

226. As in case of deterioratives (§ 177), words which have been reinterpreted as diminutives can not be separated sharply from those of which the diminutive meaning is rather due to reformation, i. e. the speaker consciously coins a new diminutive, but is unconscious, at least for the time being, of the fact that the same word already exists in a non-diminutive meaning. The latter process is not different from the formation of any other new diminutives, and words which seemed to me probably to have gotten their diminutive meaning in this way, have been placed among the original diminutives, so e. g. *κιβώτιον*, *κυλίκιον*, *ληκύδιον*, *ράκιον*.

## XVI. -ιον AS A HYPOCORISTIC SUFFIX.

227. Whereas the deteriorative use of -ιον was, as we have seen, as old as the diminutive, and not derived from it, its hypocoristic function must rather have taken its origin from its diminutive use. Not that this is the only possible way by which endearment can be connected with a suffix, but rather because it is the only one which meets the conditions presupposed by -ιον particularly. That other sources of this meaning are also possible, can be seen from the existence of hypocoristic suffixes which are uncombined with diminutive meaning, e. g. the English -y in personal names like Willy and Johnny, or in names of animals in the nursery, such as 'doggy' or 'horsy.'<sup>1</sup> These words have no tendency whatever to be restricted to particularly small dogs or horses, but are used of all sizes indifferently while speaking to children in a coaxing or endearing tone (cf. § 244). Another example of a hypocoristic suffix which is not at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cent. Dict. and Cycl. sub -y.



the same time a diminutive suffix is the so-called diminutive *-l-* of the Gothic bible, which is used for translating the Greek *-ων* only in hypocoristic address, not when it refers to small size; *παιδίον* is translated barn except in the Vocative, which is barnilo.<sup>1</sup> It is, then, possible that the hypocoristic use of a suffix arises differently than from the idea of small size, e. g. directly from the meaning 'descended from.' Just as the words child, son, and daughter may have an affectionate ring in address, so a suffix of descent may develop into a hypocoristic suffix without interposition of diminutive meaning, and it is highly probable that the Germanic *-l-*,<sup>2</sup> if not I. E. *-lo-*, came to its function in this manner. For Greek *-ων*, however, this is impossible for the same reason that its diminutive use can not have originated in this way (§ 95), namely, that its use in the meaning 'descended from' was limited to so few and rare words that it could hardly have given rise to as frequent functions as those of designating small size and endearment. Moreover, the majority of these words designate animals of such a kind that no one could think of them with affection: a young viper (*ἐχιδνιον*), a young polyp (*πολυπόδιον*), a young purple-fish (*πορφύριον*). Since there also is no evidence that the hypocoristic use of *-ων* could have developed from the deteriorative use (§ 3), we must look for its origin in diminutive *-ων*.

228. The whole mass of hypocoristic words may be roughly divided into two groups. In the one the idea is 'dainty,' 'nice,' 'elegant,' and this largely originated in the use of diminutives designating young animals or plants when used as articles of food (§ 193 ff.). After the originally accessory idea of deliciousness had once become dominant in some of these words, the new meaning was extended to other words where it could not originate, i. e. to words in which the idea of daintiness never could have been associated with small size or youth, e. g. *πλάσιον* 'fine cake' of preserved fruit, *γλυμάτιον* 'delicious slice.'

229. In the second group the suffix is an exponent of endearment, and expresses affection for a person or object. The overwhelming majority of examples of this kind refer to living beings, particularly to human beings, and it is in designations of such that the origin of the use is to be sought. The ease with which endearment is associated with small size in case of a child or pet animal is too

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polzin, *Stud. z. Gesch. des Dem. im Deutsch.* I.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wrede, *Die Dim. im Deutsch.* 132 ff., who, however, unnecessarily insists that proper names (Kose-formen) must have antedated appellative hypocorisms.

familiar in all languages to need illustration. The English adjective 'little' has proceeded so far in this respect that it is used by some persons even where there is no idea of small size, as when the lover speaks of his 'little girl' even when she is six feet tall. In case of Greek *-ων* this development of the diminutive idea may have been assisted by another factor. The most frequent of diminutives, namely *παιδίον*, in as much as it could mean 'little son or daughter,' i. e. could refer to descent as well as size and age, contained within its root part the germs of a hypocoristic development (cf. § 227), and this could easily emphasize and hasten the tendency of the endearment to connect itself with the suffix; for *παιδίον* 'dear little son' could be analyzed so that the idea 'dear' as well as 'little' was lodged in the suffix.

230. The examples will be divided into the two groups just mentioned, without paying attention to the distinction whether the hypocorism is directed to an individual or a class. Since these meanings are an off-shoot of the fully developed diminutive meaning, and since there never could have existed the idea of similarity in a hypocoristically used suffix, the distinction is of no historical value here. As a matter of fact, it may be said that when the meaning is 'dainty,' 'elegant,' etc., the hypocorism may be directed either to an individual or a class, but real endearment is necessarily nearly always addressed to concrete individuals, and not to abstract classes.

#### 1. THE SUFFIX EXPRESSES THE IDEA OF DAINTINESS, ELEGANCE, OR NICETY.

231. By far the larger number of examples designate articles of food, and of these those which are names of animals or plants or their parts have already been mentioned (§ 193 ff.). It remains to give the words which could not themselves have been instrumental in the development of this meaning. *δειπνιον*: *δειπνον*, 'delicious dinner.' Hes., οὐ γὰρ ἄκανθαι παροιμία. Αριστοφάνης σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσας· οὐδ' ἴσως ἀντέλεγες τούτῳ τῷ δειπνίῳ.<sup>1</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἄκανθαι. *δελασμάτιον*: *δελάσμα*, 'dainty enticement.' Philoxenus 2. 5, Τὰ δὲ (sc. πρά-πεζαι) πρὸς ὑφιλύχνους ἔστιλβον αὐγὰς· Εὐστέρωναι λεκάναις παροψίσι τ', ὀξυβάφων πληρεῖς σὺν τε χλιδῶσαι Παντοδαπαῖσι τέχνας εὐρήμασι πρὸς βιστάν, ψυχὰς δελασματίουσιν. *ἐμβαμμάτιον*: *ἐμβαμμα*, 'fine sauce.'

<sup>1</sup> The text is sometimes emended to *δειπνίῳ*.



Anaxipp. ap. Athen. 404 C, Τούτῳ παρέθηκα σπείας καὶ τευθίδας καὶ τῶν πετραίων ἰχθύων τῶν ποικίλων, Ἐμβαρματίαις γλαφυροῖσι κεχορηγμένα. ἡδυσματίον: ἡδυσμα, 'fine sauce or relish.' Telecl. frg. 2. 362 (11) (I quote a longer passage as a good example of how freely such hypocorisms were used by some persons. It is a description of the former blissful state of man), Ζωμῷ δ' ἔρρει παρὰ τὰς κλίνας ποταμὸς κρέα θερμὰ κυλίνδων, Ἰποτριμματίων δ' ὄχετοί τούτων τοῖς βουλομένοισι παρήσαν, Ὡς ἀφρονία τὴν ἐνθεσιν ἦν ἄρδονδ' ἀπαλὴν καταπίνειν. Λεκανίσκαισιν δ' ἀνάπαιστα παρῆν ἡδυσματίαις κατὰπαστα. Ὅπταί δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμνητίσκων εἰς τὸν φάρυγ' εἰσεπέτοντο. Τῶν δὲ πλακούντων ὥστιζον μενὼν περὶ τὴν γνάθον ἦν ἀλαλητός. Μήτρας δὲ τόμοις καὶ χναυματίαις οἱ παῖδες ἂν ἡσπραγάλιζον. παλάδιον, παλάσιον: παλάθη, 'fine cake of preserved fruit.' Ar. Pax. 574, Ἄλλ' ἀναμνησθέντες, ὦνδρες, Τῆς δικίτης τῆς παλαιᾶς, Ἦν παρῆχ' αὖτη (sc. ἡ Εἰρήνη) ποδ' ἡμῶν, Τῶν τε παλασίων ἐκείνων, Τῶν τε σύκων, τῶν τε μύρτων. παληματίον: πάλημα, 'fine meal.'<sup>1</sup> Ar. frg. 2. 1184 (33), Πόλους δ' οὐχ' ἤψον ὁμοῦ βολβοῖς. . . . Ἴν' ἐπαγλαίσῃ τὸ παληματίον καὶ μὴ βήττων καταπίνῃ. περικομμάτιον: περίκομμα, 'fine mince-meat.'<sup>1</sup> Ar. Equ. 770, Κἄγωγ', ὦ Δῆμ', εἰ μὴ σε φιλῶ καὶ μὴ στέργω, κατατμηθεῖς Ἐφούμην ἐν περικομματίαις.<sup>2</sup> Athenion frg. 4. 558 (31), see § 208 Bb sub ἐρίφιον. σαρκίον: σάρξ, 'tender delicious meat.' Diph. frg. 4. 380, σαρκία Ἀπαλώτατ'. ταρίχιον: τάριχος, 'fine salted fish.' Ar. Pax 563, Ἐμπολήσαντές τι χρηστὸν εἰς ἀγρὸν ταρίχιον. τεμάχιον: τέμαχος, 'delicious slice.' Amphis frg. 3. 316, see § 193 b sub λαβράκιον. Crobyl. frg. 4. 568 (1), τὸν λάρυγγ' ἡδιστα πυριῶ τεμαχίαις. τριμματίον: τρίμμα, 'fine spiced drink.' Sotad. frg. 3. 585 (1. 17), Τριμματίον ὥκειώσα τούτοις ἀνδρῶν Παντοδαπόν. ἐψητόν δὲ μετὰ ταύτας τινά, Ὁξύλιπαρον τούτοις ἔδωκε χυμίον. Diph. frg. 4. 394 (1. 5), Ὅπτων ἐπῆγε σωρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τηγάνου, Τριμματία τούτοις ἐν θυεῖαις ἀργυραῖς. τροφόλιον: τροφαλίς, 'fine fresh cheese.' Alexis frg. 3. 462 (1. 12), Τυροῦ τροφάλια χλωρὰ Κυθνίου παρατεμών, Βοτρυδίον τι, χόριον, ἐν ποτηρίῳ Γλυκύν. ὑποτριμματίον: ὑπότριμμα, 'fine herb-sauce.' Telecl. frg. 2. 361, see sub ἡδυσματίον. Poll. 6. 68, εἴη δ' ἂν τῶν ἡδυσματίων καὶ τὰ ὑποτριμματία,<sup>3</sup> ἃ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> These words may also have a true diminutive element in them, in as much as the suffix may have carried with it the idea 'ground fine,' another case of the influence of the adjective *λεπτός* (§ 210).

<sup>2</sup> Here the force of the suffix seems to have faded, unless the purpose of the hypocorism was to raise a laugh on account of its ridiculous incongruity with the situation.

<sup>3</sup> Here perhaps 'generalizing.' Cf. *καταχυσματίον* (§ 118 C).

καταχυσματία. χναυματίον: χναῦμα, 'delicious slice.' Ar. frg. 2. 1026 (1), see § 208 Bb sub δελφάκιον. Telecl. frg. 2. 362 (1. 14), see sub ἡδυσματίον. χυμίον: χυμός, 'fine sauce.' Sotad. frg. 3. 585 (1. 19), see sub τριμματίον.

232. Closely related to the above words are those in which *-ιον* means 'soft,' 'delicate,' 'luxuriant,' 'elegant' (§ 211 D). It must be by the extension of these ideas or the meaning 'delicious' or both<sup>1</sup> that hypocoristic *-ιον* has come to be added to a few originally abstract words: ἀκουσματίον 'elegant (little) strain of music,' βουλευματίον 'nice (little) plan,' ῥηματίον 'neat (little) phrase.' For the last, however, the idea of endearment also may have had its influence, in as much as the words were thought of as used for coaxing some one into acquiescence (cf. § 242). We may translate 'pet phrases,' 'coaxing words,' or the like. Examples: ἀκουσματίον: ἀκουσμα. Luc. Philopat. 18, ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τὸ θαυμασίον ἐκείνο ἀκουσματίον ἄεισον, ὅπως κἀγὼ καταχρησάσω καὶ ὅπως ἀλλοιωθῶ, καὶ . . . ὥς ἀηδὼν ὄρνεον γενήσομαι καὶ τὴν θαυμασίαν σου ἐκπλήξω καὶ ἀνδρῶν λειμῶνα ἐκτραγωδήσω. βουλευματίον: βούλευμα. Ar. Equ. 100, Ἦν γὰρ μεθυσθῶ, πάντα ταυτὶ καταπάσω Βουλευματίον καὶ γνωμιδίον καὶ νοιδίον. ῥηματίον: ῥῆμα. Ar. Ach. 447, Εἰ γ' οἷον ἔδῃ ῥηματίων ἐμπύπλαμα. id. Equ. 216, τὸν δῆμον αἰὲ προσποιῶ, Ἰπογλυκαίνων ῥηματίαις μαγειρικῶς. id. Nub. 943, Κἄτ' ἐκ τούτων ὧν ἂν λέξῃ ῥηματίαισιν καινόεας αὐτὸν καὶ διανοίας κατατοξέωσω.

## 2. THE SUFFIX EXPRESSES ENDEARMENT.

233. As an example of the combination of diminutive and hypocoristic meaning, which is presupposed to have existed if the latter is derived from the former, I may mention θυγάτριον 'dear little daughter' in Men. frg. 4. 198, Τοῦμόν θυγάτριον; πάνυ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει . . . φιλάνθρωπον τὸ παιδάριον σφόδρα. The same combination can occur at any time when *παιδίον* is used hypocoristically; for a speaker may always think of any child as small at the same time when he is using *παιδίον* with endearment. Since this word also allows such a development particularly easily because of its root meaning (§ 229), and since it was the most frequent of all hypocoristic words in *-ιον*, we may conclude that it was the principal pattern for this group of hypocoristic words, just as it was for the diminutives

<sup>1</sup> It is also not impossible that this is due to semantic syncretism of *-ιον* with *-ισκο-*. Cf. Aleman frg. 65, Ὡς αἰμὲς τὸ καλὸν μελίσκον.



(§ 182), and this all the more so because it is generally true that endearment is oftenest and most evidently associated with small size in case of children.

234. This accessory notion of endearment could gradually become dominant over that of small size in any word, but most easily this took place when the diminutive referred to a class. If the speaker used *παιδίον* 'dear little child' because thinking of a child as small in comparison with adults, the hearer would usually not follow him and perceive only the hypocorism, which always reveals itself easily in the spoken language. After the diminutive idea had altogether faded from certain words in certain situations, it became possible to use words like *Κυκλώπιον* 'dear Cyclops,' and *Εὐριπίδιον* 'dear Euripides' (§ 236 b).

235. By far the larger number of occasions for endearing expressions arise in address of the second person: the mother to her child, the lover to his love, etc. As a result the large majority of examples of the hypocoristic use of *-ιον* words are in the Vocative case. This fact has born fruit in new formations on the basis of the Vocative in several instances. Thus *πατέριον* 'dear father' shows its hypocoristic origin by the strong stem *πατερ-*, which occurs in the Vocative of its primitive (*πάτερ*), while otherwise the weak stem *πατρ-* is used as the basis of derivation and composition. From the relation of the vocatives *παῖ*: *παιδίον* the suffix *-διον* was abstracted, e. g. in *βούδιον* (§ 304).

236. *Examples of hypocorisms in address, mostly the Vocative case.* I will subdivide: a) the term of endearment is an appellative designating a person, b) a proper name, c) a name of an animal hypocoristically used of a person, d) a name of an animal referring to an animal.

a) *ἐρώτιον*: *ἔρως* 'love.' Hes., *ἐρώτιον*· *ἐρώμενον* *Ταραντίσις* *Θυγάτριον*: *θυγάτηρ*, 'dear daughter.' Ar. Thesm. 1184, *Κάτησο*,<sup>1</sup> *κάτησο*, *ναῖκι ναῖ*, *τυγάτριον*.<sup>1</sup> Men. frg. 4. 327, *Θυγάτριον*, ἡ νῦν ἡμέρα δίδωσί μοι Ἡ δόξαν ἔχει διαβολήν. *κόριον*: *κόρη*, 'dear maiden.' Theocr. 11. 60, *Νῦν μάν*, ὦ *κόριον*, νῦν αἶ τό γα ναῖν μεμαδεῦμαι, . . . Ὡς εἶδῶ τί ποδ' ἀδὸ κατοικεῖν τὸν βυθὸν ὕμνιν. *παιδίον*: *παῖς*, 'dear child' or 'dear servant.' Ar. Nub. 132, Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κόπτω τὴν θύραν; *παῖ*, *παιδίον*. id. Vesp. 408, Ἀλλὰ θαυμάσια βαλόντες ὡς τάχιστα, *παιδιά*. Θεῖτε καὶ βοᾶτε, καὶ Κλέωνι ταῦτ' ἀγγέλετε. id. Pax 111, ὦ *παιδί*,

<sup>1</sup> Barbarisms for *κάθησο* and *θυγάτριον*.

ὁ πατήρ ἀπολιπὼν ἀπέρχεται Ἰμάς ἐρήμους ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν λάβρα. ib. 1268, Ἀλλ' ὅ τι περ ἔδειν ἐπινοεῖς, ὦ *παιδίον*, Αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐμὲ στάν πρότερον ἀναβὰς ἴνα δῷ. id. Vesp. 293, Ἐδελήσεις τί μοι οὖν, ὦ Πάτερ, ἦν σοῦ τι δεηθῶ; XOP. Πάνυ γ', ὦ *παιδίον*. id. Thesm. 731, τοῦ θανάτου δ' ὦ *παιδίον*, Μόνην γυναικῶν αἰτιῶ τὴν μητέρα. Phil. frg. 4. 16 (1), Καυτὸν τι πράττειν, οὐ μόνον τὰς ἐλπίδας Ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ χρεή, *παιδίον*, πάντως ἔχειν. *παιέριον*: *πατήρ*, 'dear father.' Luc. Menipp. 21 (to the blind seer Teiresias, after the latter had declared that he must not answer the speaker's request for information), Μηδ' αὖτις, ἔφην, ὦ *πατέριον*, ἀλλ' εἰπέ καὶ μὴ περιδῆς με σοῦ τυφλότερον περιμόντα ἐν τῷ βίῳ. *τεκνίον*: *τέκνον*, 'dear child.' 1 Ep. Jo. 3. 7, *Τεκνία*, μηδεὶς πλανᾷτω ὑμᾶς.

b) *Γλυκέριον*: *Γλυκέραι*. Men. frg. 4. 167 (9), Χαῖρ' ὦ *Γλυκέριον*.<sup>1</sup> *Εὐριπίδιον*: *Εὐριπίδης*. Ar. Ach. 404, *Εὐριπίδη*, *Εὐριπίδιον*, Ὑπάκουσον, εἴπερ πόποτ' ἀνθρώπων τινί. ib. 475, *Εὐριπίδιον* ὦ γλυκύτατον καὶ φίλτατον, Κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἰ τί σ' αἰτήσαιμι. ἔτι, Πλὴν ἐν μόνον. *Κυκλώπιον*: *Κύκλωψ*. Eur. Cycl. 266, Ἀπόμοσ', ὦ κάλλιστον ὦ *Κυκλώπιον*, ὦ δεσποτίσκα, μὴ τὰ σ' ἐξοδᾶν ἐγὼ Ξένουσι χρεῖματ'. *Λαμαχίπιον* as if: *Λαμαχίππος*, but really acting as a humorous 'diminutive' to *Λάμαχος* in Ar. Ach. 1206, unless *Λαμαχίδιον* is to be substituted (cf. § 300): Ἴη ἢ χαῖρε *Λαμαχίπιον*. *Μυρρίνιον*: *Μυρρίνη*. Ar. Lys. 906, φίλεις; . . . ὦ *Μυρρίνιον*.<sup>2</sup> *Φειδιππίδιον*: *Φειδιππίδης*. Ar. Nub. 80, *Φειδιππίδη*, *Φειδιππίδιον*. ΦΕΙ. τί, ὦ πάτερ; ΣΤΡ. Κύσον με καὶ τὴν χεῖρα δὸς τὴν δεξιάν.

c) *βατίον*, an uncertain hypocoristic word for which Bentley substituted *φάττιον*. Ar. Plut. 1011, Καὶ νῆ Δί' εἰ λυπούμενην αἰσδοιτό με, *Νηττάριον* ἂν καὶ *βάτιον* ὑπεκορίζετο. *ἐλάφιον*: *ἐλαφός*, 'dear little roe.' Ar. Thesm. 1172, Ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστίν· καὶ σὺν, ὦ *ἐλάφιον*,<sup>3</sup> ἃ σοι Καθ' ὁδὸν ἐφραζόν, ταῦτα μεμνήσθαι ποιῶν. *μελίτιον*: *μέλιττα*, 'dear little bee.' Ar. Vesp. 367, XOP. Ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐκπόριζε *Μηχανήν* ὅπως τάχιστ'. ἔως γάρ, ὦ *μελίτιον*. *χρυσό-μηλολόονδιον*: *μηλολόονθη*, 'dear little golden beetle.' Ar. Vesp. 1342, Ἀνάβαντε δεῦρο, *χρυσό-μηλολόονδιον*.

<sup>1</sup> *Γλυκέριον*, a metrically necessary conjecture of Bentley for *Γλυκέραι*, is attested for Menander by Philostratus.

<sup>2</sup> ὦ *Μυρρίνιον* is the reading of R, while Γ has ὦ *μύρριον*, and some editors emend to ὦ *μυρτίον*, *Μυρρινίδιον*, or ὦ *Μυρρίνη*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ἐλάφιον* is here often taken as a proper noun, but since there are in old comedy no other examples of such a name becoming permanently attached to a person (cf. § 237 b), it seems safer to consider it an appellative like *μελίτιον*.



d) *περιστέριον*: περιστέρα, 'dear little dove.' Pherecr. frg. 2. 322, Ἀλλ' ὃ περιστέριον ὄμοιον Κλεισθένει, Πέτου, κόμισον δέ μ' εἰς Κύθηρα καὶ Κύπρον.

237. When a person expresses his feeling of endearment for a third person, and particularly for someone who is not present, the intensity of his feeling is naturally usually less than in the contrary case, and will diminish in accordance with the remoteness of his connection with the person. In this way the use of hypocorisms can descend step by step to a condition in which such a slight degree of emotion is felt that the *-ιον* derivative is virtually equivalent to the primitive, a state of affairs which is further hastened by the many cases in which the hearer can not understand the speaker's endearment. Although this latter factor often makes it still more difficult for us, who are so far removed from the Greek manner of thought, to judge with certainty whether a certain word could have been used hypocoristically, there are enough certain passages to show that this use of *-ιον* was not confined to the second person. The examples are arranged as in the last paragraph.

a) *ἀνθρώπιον*: ἄνθρωπος, 'a dear little chap' (ironical). Eur. Cycl. 185, τοὺς θυλάκους τοὺς ποικίλους Περὶ τῶν σκελῶν ἰδοῦσα καὶ τὸν χρύσειον Κλῶν φοροῦντα περὶ μέσον τὸν ἀρχένα ἐξεπτοήθη (sc. ἡ Ἑλένη), Μενέλειον ἀνθρώπιον Ἀφῶστον λιποῦσα. *θυγάτριον* Ar. Thesm. 1210, Ὡ γράδι, ὡς καρίεντό<sup>1</sup> σοι τὸ θυγάτριον.<sup>1</sup> Strattis frg. 2. 788 (5), Τὰ θυγάτρια Περὶ τὴν λεκάνην ἅπαντα περιπεπλεγμένα. Xenarch. frg. 3. 624 (1), Τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἔστ' ἐπὶ κακόν, Τὸ θυγάτριόν τέ μου σεσινάπιε διὰ τῆς ξένης. Men. frg. 4. 198 (5), see § 233. *παιδίον*. Ar. Ach. 132, Ἐμοὶ σὺ ταῦτάσι λαβὼν ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς Σπονδὰς ποίησαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μόνω καὶ τοῖσι παιδίοισι καὶ τῇ πλάτιδι. id. Lys. 99, Τοὺς πατέρας οὐ ποθεῖτε τοὺς τῶν παιδίων Ἐπὶ στρατιᾷ ἀπόντας; ib. 880, οὐδ' ἐλεεῖς τὸ παιδίον Ἀλουτον ὃν κἀνθ' ἑκτὴν ἡμέραν; id. Thesm. 690, Τάλαν' ἐγώ, τάλανα, καὶ τὸ παιδίον Ἐξαρχάσας μοι φροῦδος ἀπὸ τοῦ τιθίου. id. Eccl. 92, γυμνὰ δ' ἐστὶ μοι τὰ παιδία.

b) While the proper names of § 236 b were occasional formations which were used in affectionate address only, and alongside of them the primitives were in regular use for the very same individuals, all extant examples which belong here are of such a nature as to show that the hypocoristic force of the suffix has faded; for the *-ιον* form has taken the place of its primitive as the regular name of

<sup>1</sup> Barbarisms for *χαρίεν* and *θυγάτριον*.

certain women, particularly hetaerae. These proper names in *-ιον* became very frequent in later times, and seem then to have been confined to women, while in the time of the Old Comedy, when the hypocoristic force of the suffix was yet living, they could just as well be used in endearing address to men (cf. the examples of § 236 b). A longer list of these permanent names in *-ιον* has been collected by Zimmerman, *Die Griech. Personennamen auf -ιον und ihre Entsprechungen im Lateinischen*, Philol. 64. 499 ff. Many examples are also scattered through Bechtel, *Die Attischen Frauennamen*. Here will be given only a few words from the Middle Comedy, in order to show that already at that time (but not earlier) such names in *-ιον* had become permanently attached to certain individuals; for they occur as their ordinary names alongside of names of other individuals without hypocoristic suffixes. *Νάννιον*: Νάννα, Amphis frg. 3. 310, Παρὰ δὲ Σινώπῃ καὶ Λύκα καὶ Ναννίῳ Ἑτέραις τε τοιαύταισι παγίσσι τοῦ βίου Ἐνδον κἀνθ' (sc. ὁ Πλοῦτος) ἀπόπληκτος. Timocl. frg. 3. 608 (1), Περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον Εὐδουσι γράας, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα, Γνάθαινα, Φρύνα, Πυθιονίκη, Μυρρίνη, Χρυσίς, Κονάλλης, Ἰερόκλεια, Λοπάδιον. Anaxil. frg. 3. 348 (15), ἡ δὲ Νάννιον τί νοὺ διαφέρειν Σκύλλης δοκεῖ; Alexis frg. 3. 486, Νάννιον δὲ μάίνεται ἐπὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ. *Λοπάδιον*, see sub Νάννιον.

d) *ὀρνέθιον*: ὄρνις 'bird.' Ar. Av. 223, Ὡ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ φθέγματος τοῦρνιδίου. Ὄϊον κατεμελίτωσε τὴν λόγχην ὄλιν. ib. 662, Ἐκβίβασον ἐκ τοῦ βουτόμου τοῦρνιδιον. ib. 667, Ὡ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ', ὡς καλὸν τοῦρνιδιον, Ὡς δ' ἀπαλόν, ὡς δὲ λευκόν.

238. It is quite common in various languages, e. g. Latin and Middle High German, to use hypocorisms for everything connected with the person of one's mistress, particularly parts of her body, or her dress and her ornaments, and the same is often done when speaking of children, then with the diminutive idea as well as endearment. As far as articles of dress and ornament are concerned, there is not the slightest indication that the *-ιον* words of § 130 had the remotest tendency to be used oftener in hypocoristic situations, as when the lover is speaking to his love, or the parent to the child, and we must consequently conclude that this kind of hypocorism was foreign to the Greek language, probably for the very reason that so many words of this kind in meaningless *-ιον* had been formed before the full development of the hypocoristic use, that the suffix could not be easily recognized as a means of expressing endearment in this congeneric group. There is, however, some evidence for the use of



hypocoristic -ιον in words designating parts of the body. The best example is post-Classic: ὀμμάτιον: ὀμμα, 'dear little eye,' Anth. P. 5. 132, ὃ τοῦ ῥαδινεῖο τραχήλου, ὃ χειρῶν, ὃ τῶν μαίνομαι ὀμματίων, ὃ κατατεχνοτάτου κινήματος, ὃ περιάλλον Γλωττισμῶν, ὃ τῶν θαυμῶν ἔλε φωναρίων. That the same usage existed already in the time of the Old Comedy, is shown by the following words: πόσθιον: πόσθη, Ar. Thesm. 1188, καλὴ τὸ σῆμα<sup>1</sup> περὶ τὸ πόσθιον.<sup>1</sup> τιτθίων: τιτθός. Crates frg. 2. 248 (4), Πάνυ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὠρικώτατα τὰ τιτθί<sup>2</sup> ὥσπερ μῆλον ἢ μιμαίκυλα. Ar. Ach. 1199, ἀτταταῖ, τῶν τιτθίων, ὡς σκληρὰ καὶ κυδώνια. Φιλήσατόν με μαλθακῶς, ὃ χρυσίω. id. Lys. 83, Ὡς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρῆμ<sup>3</sup> ἔχεις τῶν τιτθίων. id. Ran. 412, Καὶ γὰρ παραβλέψας τι μαιρακίσκης, Νῦν δὲ κατεῖδον, καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου, Συμπαιστρίας χιτωνίου Παραρραγέντος τιτθίων προκύψαν. Cf. also the following words in conglutinates: δακτυλίδιον (§ 315. XII. C), ὀφθαλμίδιον (l. c.), τιτθιδίων (l. c.), and φωναρίον (see sub ὀμμάτιον).

239. There is not a single probable example extant in which a hypocoristic word in -ιον is used to express endearment for a lifeless thing itself. Apparent cases of this kind are either such that the endearment is directed to something else than is designated by the word in -ιον (cf. § 244 f.), or the idea is 'neat,' 'pretty,' 'elegant,' etc., i. e. there really is no affection present at all (cf. § 240). For an apparent exception in -ιδίων see § 315. XII. E.

### 3. MODIFICATIONS OF HYPOCORISTIC MEANING.

240. Since endearment often results from an appreciation of beauty, the two ideas are intimately associated, and the latter may become dominant in situations where the emotional element is less keenly felt, e. g. when the endearment is directed to an absent person. Thus θυγάτριον is used particularly with reference to beauty in Ar. Thesm. 1210 (§ 237 a), and so is ὀρνίδιον in the examples of § 237 d, i. e. either because of appreciation of the beauty of the bird itself or of its song. The endearing use of -ιον has thus developed a meaning that is quite similar to that in words like ταπήτιον (§ 211 D) or ἀκουσμάτιον (§ 232), which are largely due to other causes.

241. Sometimes the use of a term of endearment results from pity, from the desire to console, etc., so e. g. παιδίον in Ar. Pax. 111, Thesm. 731 (§ 236 a); id. Lys. 880, Eccl. 92 (§ 237 a).

<sup>1</sup> Barbarisms for σχῆμα and πόσθιον.

Similarly βάτιον and νηττάριον in Ar. Plut. 1011 (§ 236 c). The use of hypocorisms from such motives is too natural and common to let us suppose that this usage as a whole goes back directly to the diminutive meaning, on the ground that weakness became associated with small size, and pity with weakness. It would be wrong, moreover, to say that the emotion of pity was really connected with the suffix, but it rather belonged to the whole situation, while the suffix, as otherwise, was simply the exponent of endearment.

242. The same can be said of the use of hypocorisms in entreaties, e. g. κόριον, Theocr. 11. 60 (§ 236 a); πατέριον, Luc. Menipp. 21 (l. c.); Εὐριπίδιον, Ar. Ach. 404, 475 (§ 236 b); Κυκλώπιον, Eur. Cycl. 266 (l. c.). The position of one asking a favor is one in which it is natural to adopt an affectionate and coaxing tone.

243. It is ordinarily also indifferent, except for stylistic reasons, that there may be a certain dramatic irony displayed in the use of a hypocorism in comedy, i. e. the speaker is supposed to use a term of endearment in a perfectly sincere manner, but the poet and spectator have a laugh on the side when the object of the endearment is a particularly large or uncouth or dignified person, so e. g. Κυκλώπιον in Euripides (§ 236 b), Εὐριπίδιον in Aristophanes (l. c.), πατέριον addressed to the blind old seer Tiresias in Lucian (§ 236 a), μελίτιον 'sweet little bee,' addressed to the uncouth jurymen in Ar. Vesp. 367 (§ 236 c), or νηττάριον 'dear little duckling,' supposed to be addressed to a hideous old woman in Ar. Plut. 1011 (l. c.). Sometimes, however, such irony may result in deteriorative meaning. Cf. § 152.

244. Sometimes hypocoristic suffixes are used not so much to indicate affection for a certain object or to designate it as beautiful or delicate, but rather because the speaker is in a sympathetic or hypocoristic mood.<sup>1</sup> After these meanings had once developed in certain words which designated the object of the emotion or the possessor of the admired qualities, the suffix could also be illogically added to words which did not themselves designate an object viewed with affection. Thus, when a child is told to see the 'horsy' or to take care of the 'doggy,' the endearment expressed by the suffix -y is really directed to the child and not to the horse or dog. An emotion will not necessarily wait for its expression until the word

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Belič, Arch. f. Slav. Phil. 23. 143. Recently this has been called "Enallage der Diminution" or "infektiöse Übertragung der Diminution" by Skutsch, ALL. 15. 37 f.



which designates the object to which it is directed is uttered, but may cause the addition of its linguistic exponent to any word whatever, provided only that the addition of a certain suffix to a certain kind of word is in harmony with the habits of the language. When a person is speaking with a child or lover, when he is addressing an entreaty to someone, in some languages, e. g. Lithuanian,<sup>1</sup> even when he desires to express himself in a neat or elegant fashion, he can use hypocoristic suffixes and attach them to any word which strikes his fancy. How small a part logic plays in this, may be seen e. g. from the Lithuanian dainos. In a little song a lover bewails to his love the necessity of his going to war, and uses a 'diminutive' of the word for 'war': "ĩ krygėlė jójau," although a man who is so reluctant to go can neither think of a war as a small affair nor look upon it with affection. It is very plainly the fact that he is speaking with his love that produces in him a hypocoristic mood, and induces him to give vent to it by adding the suffix to the nearest word which can take it, the only substantive of the clause. Similar things occur in the German dialects of East Prussia. When some one has failed to understand the speaker and asks for a repetition, it is a mark of politeness to say 'Was-che?' or, when speaking to children affectionately, one may ask 'Was-sagst-du-che?' The same tendency in some languages has caused the addition of hypocoristic endings to adjectives, although the proper object of the endearment is really the modified substantive. So frequently in Latin, e. g. Catullus 3. 18. Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli. id. 69. 4, perluciduli deliciis lapidis. id. 17. 15, puella tenellulo delicatior haedo. id. 61. 193, Uxor in thalamo tibi est Ore floridulo nitens.<sup>2</sup>

245. Although Greek -ων has certainly not progressed as far in this line, at least in the Classical period, as the Balto-Slavic languages, or even the Latin, there are a few passages which show that even in the time of Aristophanes this usage must have had a place in the language of every-day life. On the one hand, the use of -ων diminutives to designate objects of which the speaker desires that they shall be given to him, may partially have its root in this illogical use of hypocoristic -ων (cf. § 215). There is also, however, at least one passage in which this is the only possible interpretation, namely, Ar.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jurkschat, Lit. Erzählungen 102.

<sup>2</sup> Other examples from Catullus, though interpreted in a different way, will be found in Platner, A. J. of Phil. 16. 186 ff. Cf. also Kessler, Die Lat. Dim. 3 f.

Equ. 906, where Cleon and the sausage maker are vying with each other in making promises in order to gain the favor of Demos: ΑΑΛ. Ἐγὼ δὲ κυλίχρινόν γέ σοι καὶ φάρμακον δίδωμι Τάν τοῖσιν ἀντικνημίαις ἐλκυσδρια περιαλείφειν. ΚΛ. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς πολιὰς γέ σου κλέγων νέον ποιήσω. ΑΑΛ. Ἴδού δέχου κέρκον λαγῶ τῶφθαλμιδίῳ περιψῆν. Here κυλίχρινον can not have been thought of as really designating a small object; for that would be contrary to the pretence of the giver, who would want to appear to be giving as much as possible. It is rather the coaxing tone of the whole passage that has caused the 'diminutive,' the sausage maker is speaking to Demos as he would to a child. In the same way is to be understood ἐλκυσδρια with the conglutinate -υδριον, and to translate as a deteriorative ('nasty little sores'), as one editor does, is hardly in accord with the tone of the passage. For τῶφθαλμιδίῳ, however, is possible the translation 'your dear little eyes' (§ 238). Other examples of this usage of simple -ων are doubtful. Perhaps κοπίον (: κόπη 'oar') is used in this way in Ar. Ran. 269, where Charon shouts to Dionysius to quit rowing: ὦ παῦε παῦε, παραβαλοῦ τῷ κοπίῳ. The grim old ferryman must then be understood to have entreated Dionysius, not commanded him to stop. It is, however, not impossible that κοπίον followed the analogy of instrument nouns in -ων (§ 78). Perhaps the amorous tone of the passage caused εἰκόνιον (: εἰκών 'image') in Plut. 2. 753 B, ἐρᾷται γὰρ αὐτοῦ νῆ Δί' καὶ κἀεται· τίς οὖν ὁ κολύων ἐστὶ κομᾷζειν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἄδειν τὸ παρακλαυσίθυρον, ἀναδεῖν τὰ εἰκόνα, παγκρατιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντεραστάς; ταῦτα γὰρ ἐρωτικά. There are also a few certain examples of conglutinates in -ων used with 'Enallage of Diminution': βοιδάριον (§ 366. X. D.), βοιδιον and χοιρίδιον (§ 315. XII. F.).

#### 4. FADED HYPOCORISMS.

246. Since an -ων word with the idea of daintiness in the suffix could refer to a class as well as an individual, the hypocoristic meaning could fade in exactly the same way as that of diminutives referring to a class (§ 220). An example of this is παλάδιον, originally 'fine cake' of preserved fruit, but totally equivalent to its primitive in Polemon ap. Athen. 478 D, κύαμοι, ζειάι, βρόμος, παλάδιον, μέλι, ἔλαιον.

247. As to terms of endearment, it is an often mentioned fact<sup>1</sup> that they are prone to lose their color merely by frequent use. In the

<sup>1</sup> So e. g. W. Schulze, Graeco-Latina 20; Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 672 f.



language of lovers and the family such hypocorisms are so frequent that they may become habitual, and will then be used also without the emotion which accompanied their use in the beginning, and this the more easily when directed to the third person instead of the second (§ 237). In this case the fading will be assisted by the frequent failure of the hearer to understand the speaker's affection. Moreover, words which are used only as a result of the speaker's hypocoristic mood (§ 244 f.), are very nearly equivalent to their primitives from the beginning,<sup>1</sup> and may also easily lose their hypocoristic flavor in the course of transmission.

248. It is possible that many certain examples of these processes could be found by a detailed study of post-Classical literature, but for Classical times their importance has certainly been much overestimated. In order to establish such a faded hypocorism it is, of course, not sufficient to point to a case where -ιον derivative and primitive are equivalent; for this sameness of meaning can have a variety of different causes. It is necessary either to show that the very same word actually existed in a living hypocoristic usage, or at least that it belongs to such a category that the analogy of other Greek words makes it probable that this one should have been used as a term of endearment. Thus, while the many extant hypocoristic proper names make it certain that names of women like Κώνωπιον or Λεόντιον originate from the hypocoristic use of -ιον, it would be diametrically opposed to the spirit and usage of the Greek language to assume that names of vessels, like κυμβίον, or of missiles, like χειρμάδιον or ἀκρόντιον, originated in the same way, since there are almost no examples extant in which words of this category are used with living hypocoristic meaning. According to this criterion, the number of faded hypocorisms in the Classical period is exceedingly small, and this is really what might be expected from the comparatively recent origin of the usage (§ 261 ff.), and from the fact that the Greek language had not gone far in the application of hypocorisms to inanimate objects (§ 239), nor used them to a very great extent merely because of the hypocoristic mood of the speaker (§ 245).

249. A certain example of the fading of the idea of endearment in Classical times is παιδίον. In the meaning 'child,' referring to size or youth, it seems to be completely equivalent to its primitive in passages like Ar. Av. 131, Ὅπως παρέσει μοι καὶ σὺ καὶ τὰ παιδία

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Belič, l. c.

Λουσάμενα πρὸς. id. Lys. 1065, πρὸς δὲ γὰρ τοῦτο δρᾶν λελουμένους αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ παιδία. In this meaning, however, the equivalence of primitive and derivative may as well be due to the fading of the diminutive idea (§ 220); but when παιδίον refers to descent, and is simply 'son,' not 'little son' or 'dear son,' there must have occurred fading of the hypocoristic meaning. So in the phrase Ἄρεος παιδίον 'son of Ares' used of daring men in Anaxandr. frg. 3. 181 (2). Similarly θυγάτριον later becomes equivalent to θυγάτηρ, as is shown by its being parallel to ἀδελφή in an inscription of legal contents from Ephesus ap. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 510. 55, ὅσοι δὲ φερνὰς ἀφείλουσι θυγατρίους ἢ [ἀ]δελφὰς ταῖς αὐτῶν, . . . τούτους ἀποδιδόναι τὰς φερνὰς καὶ τοὺς τόκους κατὰ τὰς πράξεις. According to Schulze (l. c.) ὠτίον (: ὠτός, Gen.) 'ear' is also a faded hypocorism, and passed from the language of nurses and lovers into universal use. While this view has support in the existence of words like ὀμμάτιον (§ 238), it seems significant that both this word and the equivalent ὠτάριον (§ 366. X.E) are never used when the ear is thought of as an organ of hearing, nor in a figurative sense, but only when the outer ear is distinctly in mind. And since there is no example extant of hypocoristic use of either of these words, though both not very rare, it seems as though ὠτίον and ὠτάριον were rather thought of as 'that which belongs to the ear,' i. e. 'the ear lap.' Cf. Anth. P. 11. 81, Ἐσχον δ' ἐν Πίσῃ μὲν ἐν ὠτίον· ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς Ἐν βλέφαρον. Ev. Matth. 26. 51, πατάξας τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀφείλεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὠτίον.

250. The fading of the hypocoristic meaning of -ιον in proper names and the consequent use of the suffix in permanent names (§ 237 b) left it the new function of forming names of women, particularly courtezans, and in this use it was extended regardless of the relation of primitive and derivative. Thus while Νάνιον is derived from Νάννα, which is itself a proper name, and thus might have originally been a hypocoristic form of the latter, this is impossible for other names of this kind which are derived from appellatives or adjectives, e. g. Λεόντιον : λέων, Λοπάδιον : λοπάς, Ἐλευθέριον : Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος or : τὰ Ἐλευθέρια, Νίνιον : νίνη. Different again is Ἀθήμιον : Ἀθηνᾶ, not a 'little Athena,' but 'she who belongs to Athena,' a priestess.

##### 5. SECONDARY HYPOCORISTIC WORDS.

251. Old -ιον words which are not originally hypocoristic, if used in hypocoristic situations, so that it is clear that they



designate the object of endearment, could be analyzed so as to lodge the source of the hypocorism in the suffix. Thus χρυσίον (§ 101 A), originally designating anything made of gold, could be used metaphorically as a term of endearment, but its source would be in the metaphor, not the suffix; for the hypocorism is present just the same when there is no 'diminutive' suffix attached (cf. e. g. the Latin 'ille aureus puer' (Priapea 83. 40). Yet the speaker or hearer might become conscious of the fact that χρυσίον ended in the same suffix which is so frequently associated with endearment. So Ar. Lys. 930, δεῦρό νυν, ὦ χρυσίον, 'come hither now, my golden pet.' id. Ach. 1200, see § 238 sub τιθεῖον.

## XVII. CONGENERIC CLASSES OF -ιον WORDS OF HETEROGENEOUS ORIGIN.

252. The influence of congeneric words<sup>1</sup> in causing other words to receive the same suffix, even though in the latter it brings with it no change of meaning, has been mentioned in many instances, e. g. κυττάριον = κύτταρος 'cell' of bee or wasp, after μελίττιον 'that which belongs to the bee,' 'bee's cell' (§ 84 A); δελτίον = δέλτος 'writing-tablet,' after βιβλίον 'that which is made of papyrus,' 'a book' (§ 101 C); ἐρκίον = ἐρκος, after τειχίον (§ 147 C). The only prerequisite is that the original meaning of a suffix should at least temporarily be forgotten, be it that the word has become so frequently used that it is no longer analyzed, but recalls its concept as a whole (§ 133 note), or be it that primitive and derivative have for some reason become equivalent, and the old meaning of the suffix is permanently obscured; and in either case a word can cause other words of kindred meaning to be assimilated to it as far as their ending is concerned, i. e. the speaker, consciously or unconsciously, now assumes the suffix to be the exponent of the category to which these words belong. Thus, when δελτίον was modelled after βιβλίον, the speaker could not have felt the latter as 'that which is made of papyrus' but simply as 'book,' and then the suffix was free for a new interpretation, and could be thought of as a means of forming words designating writing-materials.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, A. J. of Phil. 12. 1 ff., 16. 409 ff.

253. Some of these congeneric groups of words in -ιον are due to a convergence of different original meanings of the suffix, e. g. articles of dress and ornament, a class which contains words in which -ιον was a compound forming suffix, meant 'belonging to' or 'connected with,' 'made of,' 'belonging to the category of,' 'like to' (§ 260 D, E). It is evident that wherever the nucleus of words in such a group is of heterogeneous origin, there is a particularly powerful influence to break down the original meanings of the suffix and to impute to it the new one, in this case the function of forming words designating articles of dress and ornament, which is distinctly more tangible and has the advantage of causing to appear as semantically related words which are identical in structure.

254. We can be sure that this reinterpretation of the suffix has actually taken place only when it results in the formation of words like δελτίον, which are equivalent to their primitives from the beginning. Sometimes it happened that the same suffix in different meanings accidentally formed words of the same congeneric group, and yet the relation of these words was never felt, nor did they converge into a homogenous group. Thus names of animals were formed with an -ιον of generalizing meaning (§ 118 A), one which designated similarity (§ 142), and were sometimes faded diminutives (§ 208 Ba. 220), and yet there is no evidence that -ιον was ever thought of as merely an animal designating suffix, though that does not prevent us from assuming that names of animals mutually influenced one another within the bounds of a certain suffixal meaning. The same is true of the following groups: words designating parts of the body, which may have a compound forming -ιον (§ 51. 2, 57. 2), one which means 'belonging to' or 'connected with' (κρανίον, ῥινία, § 85; βρόγχια, § 86; ἰσθμια, μηρία, σιαγόνια, § 90), 'provided with' (ινίον, § 107 A), 'like' the primitive (§ 149), or they may be hypocorisms (§ 238); place names, which may be originally abstract nouns (§ 34 D and note), their suffix may have meant 'belonging to' or 'connected with' (§ 61 ff.), 'provided with' (λιβάδιον, § 107 A); words designating poems, songs, etc., either compounds (§ 51. 4) or hypocoristic words (§ 232); words designating articles of food, which may be original abstract nouns (ἐψώνιον, § 35), may have an -ιον that means 'made of' (§ 101 F), a generalizing -ιον (καταχυσμάτιον, μάζιον, περμάτιον, § 118 C), or may be hypocoristic words (§ 231).

255. On the other hand, we can be certain that -ιον was reinter-



preted as a suffix forming plant names in a large number of words, because its use here did not remain within the bounds prescribed by the older meanings of the suffix, but words of this kind were formed regardless of the relation of primitive and derivative. I have omitted discussion of nearly all plant names up to this point for the reason that they afford one of the best examples of the unification of an originally heterogeneous group, and, even if an extremely large number of them are semantically obscure, and they have not as a whole been sufficiently investigated to be available for detailed etymological work, yet the general lines along which they have developed would seem to be perfectly clear, both from certain plant names for which the Greeks themselves gave the reasons, which, even if they are not historically correct in every instance, nevertheless are instructive in showing their general attitude toward the suffix, and also from a few words which are so clear as to be self-explanatory, and from the analogy of modern methods of naming plants.

256. By the examination of those plant names which will in this manner show the cause of their existence, two things become clear: in the first place, as would be expected even by a-prioristic conclusions, almost any function of *-ιον* which is found in substantives of a different kind can also be found in plant names; in the second place, these are not primarily, if at all, a diminutive or hypocoristic category. There is not the slightest indication that the Greeks habitually thought of plants as something little (cf. § 206) or delicate. There are, moreover, a number of words for which the assumption of a faded diminutive of the *θυλάκιον* kind (§ 219) would be absurd. Who could suppose that *βήχιον*, a remedy for cough (*βήξ*), was originally 'a little cough,' or that *χελιδόνιον*, so named because it sprouted when the swallows (*χελιδόν*) appeared, was originally 'a little swallow?' If this objection were to be answered by the possibility that the whole category started as a diminutive category, and that only after the fading of the original meaning *-ιον* became a suffix for plant names, as it did for women's names (§ 250), it would be necessary to show that a nucleus of words actually is found with diminutive or hypocoristic meanings; but in reality, when both primitive and derivative designate the same plant, e. g. *σίσυμβρον* and *σισύμβριον*, there is not the slightest indication that the *-ιον* form was preferred in a situation which points to the idea 'small,' 'delicate,' or 'beautiful.' And finally, the use of *σίλφιον* in Sophocles (frg. 546, *σίλφιου λείμων*) shows that the tragedians felt no relation

between 'diminutive' *-ιον* and these plant names; for the former was most carefully avoided (cf. § 274).

257. The following is a list of etymologically clear plant names classified according to the function of the suffix.

A. *Compounds.* *ἐπι-μήδιον* 'barren-wort.' Diosc. 4. 19. *ἡλιο-σκόπιον* 'looking-to-the-sun.' Arist. De Plant. 1. 4. 819 b 21. *ἡλιο-τροπίον* 'turning-toward-the-sun.' Theophr. H. P. 7. 15. 1, 'Ὅσα δὲ τὰς ἀνθήσεις λαμβάνουσι ἀκολουθοῦντα τοῖς ἀστροῖς οἷον τὸ ἡλιοτρόπιον καλούμενον. *κυνό-κεφάλιον* 'having-a-dog's-head.' Diosc. 4. 70. *λυσι-μάχιον* 'loose-strife.' id. 4. 3. *τρι-φύλλιον* 'having-three-leaves,' 'clover.' Schol. Od. δ 603. *γευξ-ασπίδιον*. i. 3. 124.

B. *-ιον* in the meaning 'belonging to,' 'connected with.' *βουβώνιον* 'that which has to do with *βουβών*,' a plant acting as remedy for it. Diosc. 4. 120, *περιαφθὲν τῷ βουβωνί ἀπαλλάσσει τῆς οἰδῆς. βοῦνιον*: *βουνός*, 'that which belongs to i. e. grows upon a hill.' id. 4. 124. *βήχιον*: *βήξ*, a remedy for cough. Diosc. 3. 126, *τοὺς ὑπὸ ξηρᾶς βηχὸς καὶ ὀρθοσπνοίας ἐχλούμενους θεραπεύει. ἐάριον*: *ῥόδον* Hes. ('the spring-flower'). *κοράκιον*: *κόραξ*, 'the raven's plant.' Arist. Mirab. 86. 837 a 20, *φύλλον δὲ καλοῦσι κοράκιον διὰ τὸ κατανοηθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν κόρακα. γευσάμενον τοῦ φαρμάκου καὶ κακῶς διατιθέμενον, ἐπὶ τὸ φύλλον ἐρμήσαντα τοῦτο καὶ καταπίνοντα παύσασθαι τῆς ἀλγυδόνος. λειμώνιον*: *λειμών*, 'that which grows upon or comes from the meadow,' sea-lavender. Diosc. 4. 16, *φύεται δὲ ἐν λειμῶσι καὶ ἐλώδεσι τόποις. γαλάγγιον*: *φάλαγξ*, 'that which is connected with a (poisonous) spider,' a remedy against its bite. id. 3. 122, *Ταύτης τὰ φύλλα καὶ τὸ σπέρμα καὶ τὸ ἄνθος πινόμενον μετ' οἴνου σκορπισπλήκτοις βοηθεῖ καὶ φαλαγγιο-δύκτοις. χελιδόνιον*: *χελιδών*, 'that which is connected with the swallow,' 'swallow-wort.' id. 2. 211, *Δοκεῖ δὲ ὀνόμασθαι χελιδόνιον, ἐπειδὴ ἄμα ταῖς χελιδόσι φαινόμεναις ἀναφέρεται, ληγούσαις δὲ συμπαρκαμάζει. τινὲς δὲ ἰστέρησαν, ὡς ἐάν τις τυφλωθῇ τῶν τῆς χελιδόνος νεοσσῶν, αἱ μητέρες, προσφέρουσαι τὴν πόαν, ἴδονται τὴν πῆρῳσιν αὐτοῦ.*

C. *-ιον* as a suffix of *possession*. *ἡνέμιον*: *ἄνεμος* (cf. *ἡνεμόεις*), 'wind-flower,' because growing in windy places. Diosc. 2. 207. Most words in which the suffix could logically be a suffix of possession, e. g. *ξίφιον*, as though a plant which 'has swords' for leaves, are really formed with the idea of similarity (§ 140). Cf. the English 'lady finger,' 'bear's foot,' etc., which have no possible linguistic exponent of the possessive idea. The resemblance of one part of a plant to some other object is sufficient for the imagination to either think



of the whole plant as like it, or even actually to apply to the plant metaphorically the name of the object compared.

D. *Generalizing* -ιον. ὄσπριον 'pulse' and γυνχίον 'sea-weed' (§ 118 B.).

E. -ιον as an exponent of *similarity*. Similarity of plants to other objects was probably the most important source for plant names then as now, and when a linguistic exponent of it was desired, -ιον was a most convenient suffix (§ 132 ff.). It is obvious that a plant usually will not suffer comparison with other objects as a whole, and so the comparison will apply only to a part, e. g. leaves, flowers, stalk, or roots (cf. C). Such parts are naturally often smaller than the objects compared, and so, as in all words of the κεράτιον type (§ 136, 189), there may have occasionally existed a diminutive interpretation, but they could not have originated as diminutives, since this is a much later use of -ιον than that of designating similarity, nor could this interpretation have been very common without leaving more distinct traces than is actually the case. Moreover, words like χαμαιλέων and σκῆνος show that in Greek also such plant names were given without reference to small size. Examples are: γεράνιον: γέρανος, 'that which is like (the head of) a crane.' Diosc. 3. 131, Καλεῖται ὑπὲρ ἐνίων καὶ ἑτερον γεράνιον, . . . ἔχον . . . φύλλα μαλάχῃ ἐμπερῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν μασχαλῶν ἐξοχὰς τινας ἀνανεοευκυίας, ὡς γεράνων κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς βράμψεσιν ἢ κυνῶν ὀδόντας. δελφίνιον: δελφίς, because of the flowers that look like a dolphin's head. id. 3. 84, φυλλάρια ἐπεσχισμένα, λεπτά, ἐπιμήκη, δελφινοειδῆ, ὅθεν καὶ ὠνόμασται. ἔχιον: ἔρις, because of the resemblance of the fruit to a viper's head. id. 4. 27, τὰ δὲ ἄνθη παρὰ τὰ φύλλα πορφυροειδῆ, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ καρπός, κεφαλῇ ἔριος ὅμοιος. κλινόποδιον: κλινόπους, because of the resemblance of the flowers to the feet of a bed. id. 3. 109, καὶ τὰ ἄνθη ὅμοια ὡς κλίνης ποσίν. κροκοδείλιον: κροκόδειλος, according to Passow so named because of the rough crocodile-like surface of the stalk. id. 3. 12. ξιφίον: ξίφος, because of the sword-like shape of the leaves. id. 4. 20, Διὰ τὸ τοῦ φύλλου σχῆμα ὠνόμασται ξιφίον. πολυπόδιον: πολύπους, because of the resemblance of its root to the polyp. id. 4. 188, ῥίζα δ' ὕπεστι δασεῖα, πλεκτάνας, ὥσπερ πολύπους, ἔχουσα. σατύριον (: Σάτυρος) is explained by the alternative name ὄρχις Σατύρου in Diosc. 3. 143. τράγιον: τράγος, because the plant smelled like a he-goat. id. 4. 50, προβάλλει δὲ κατὰ τὸ φθινόπωρον τὰ φύλλα τράγου ὁσμὴν, ὅθεν καὶ ὠνόμασται τράγιον. ψύλλιον: ψύλλα, because of the resemblance of the seed to fleas. id. 4. 70, ἐν οἷς σπέρμα φύλλοις ὅμοιον.

μέλαν, σκληρόν. Sometimes a name of a plant is derived from that of a similar, but not identical species, e. g. ἀκάνθιον 'a plant like the ἀκάνθα (thistle), but not the real one' (Diosc. 3. 18). There is no evidence in the description of Dioscorides that the ἀκάνθιον was the smaller of the two. Similarly κισσίον (Diosc. 3. 106) is not the same as κιστός (ivy), but another name for the Ἀσκληπιὰς, because it had leaves like ivy, and γραμβίον (id. 4. 166) = πτύουσα, not = κράμβη.

258. From a nucleus of such words, which, though their suffix had widely divergent meanings in the different words, yet all were plant names, the development of -ιον as a plant suffix took place. After the old meanings had faded in a number of words, the idea 'plant' was definitely connected with the suffix, and there resulted a large number of new formations which do not show any trace of its original meanings. Thus several plant names in -ιον are derived from adjectives, e. g. μελάνθιον (Diosc. 3. 93): μελανθής, the reason for the name being shown by the alternative μελάνθιος πόα. Similarly πόλιον 'gray-plant' is merely the Neuter of the adjective πολίος 'gray.' Cf. Diosc. 3. 124, ἔχον κεφάλιον ἐπὶ ἄκρου κερυμβοειδές, μικρόν, ὡς πολὺν τρίχιν. ξάνθιον 'yellow-plant' is so named because it is used to dye the hair yellow (Diosc. 4. 138). Other plant names appear to be derived from proper names (sometimes no doubt with the idea of appurtenance), e. g. ἀλκιβιάδιον (Diosc. 4. 23), κυρέλιον (id. 4. 122), πολεμώνιον (id. 4. 8), τεύχιον (id. 3. 111), τηλέφιον (id. 4. 91). The best evidence, however, of the complete independence which the plant-designating use of -ιον had attained, is to be gathered from a number of words to which the suffix was added without causing the slightest change of application and without adding a hypocoristic shade of meaning. Thus the following pairs are perfectly equivalent: ἄψινθος and ἀψίνθιον (Hipp. 491, Xen. An. 1. 5. 1), 'worm-wood'; κάνναβις and καννάβιον (Diosc. 3. 165, Κάνναβις ἡμερος, οἱ δὲ καννάβιον), 'hemp'; κερασός and κεράσιον (id. 1. 158), 'cherry-tree'; κιχόρη and κιχώριον (Theophr. H. P. 1. 10. 7) 'suck-cory'; κλύμενον and κλυμένιον (Diosc. 4. 13, Κλύμενον, . . . οἱ δὲ κλυμένιον); πράσον and πράσιον (Arist. H. A. 8. 2. 591 a 16), a leek-like seaweed<sup>1</sup>; σίσυμβρον and σισύμβριον (Ar. Av. 160; Cratin. frg. 2. 72, 82; Pherecr. frg. 2. 253; Arist. De Plant. 1. 7. 821 a 31), a certain sweetly smelling plant; σκόροδον and σκορόδιον (Ar. Plut.

<sup>1</sup> Since πράσον also designated a leek, it is possible that πράσιον was formed with this meaning in view, and would then have been thought of as 'that which is like a leek.'



818), 'garlic'; τεῦτλον, σεῦτλον and τευτλίον (Ar. Ran. 942. frg. 2. 1000 (17), Alexis frg. 3. 448, 'Εάν ἐπιχώριος Ἰατρὸς εἶπῃ " τρυβλίον τούτῳ δότε Πτισάνης ἔωθεν," καταφρονούμεν εὐθέως. "Αν δὲ " πτισάναν" καὶ " τρυβλίον," θαυμάζομεν. Καὶ πάλιν ἔαν μὲν " τευτλίον," παρείδομεν. Ἐάν δὲ " σεῦτλον," ἀσμένως ἡκούσαμεν. Ὡς οὖν τὸ σεῦτλον ταῦτὸν ὄν τῷ τευτλίῳ), 'beet': τέρδυλον and τερδύλιον (Diosc. 3. 63. Τερδύλιον, οἱ δὲ τέρδυλον).

259. Just as an indication of the great extent to which the use of -ιον in plant names had developed, I will give the following selected list from those not mentioned before, without attempt at classification: ἀλκυόνιον, ἄρκιον, ἀστέριον, βατράχιον, βδέλλιον, βουβάλιον, γάλιον, γιγγίδιον, δαρύκιον, δρακόντιον, ἐλένιον, ἐρυθρόνιον, εὐπατώριον, εὐφρόβιον, ἡρύγγιον, ἰεράκιον, κενταύριον, κοράλλιον, κόριον, κρυστάλλιον, λεπίδιον, λύκιον, μήδιον, μνάσιον, νήριον, παγκράτιον, παρυένιον, πέπλιον, περδίκιον, ποτήριον, προσώπιον, σελήνιον, σίλφιον, σισυρίγγιον, σκολοπένδριον, σκόρδιον, σκύλλιον, σμύρνιον, σπαργάνιον, σπαρτίον, στρουθίον, σφονδύλιον, τριπόλιον, τρυγόνιον.

260. The individual cases of congeneric attraction in other groups than plant names, and those in which it took place between a few isolated words, have been mentioned under the different words or meanings which caused the attraction. Here it remains merely to give a summary of the larger and more heterogeneous groups.

A. *Instrument nouns.* a) Abstract nouns, e. g. ὀψώνιον (§ 34 F and note). b) 'connected with' an action, e. g. ἀέθλιον, λούτριον (§ 76). c) 'belonging to' an agent, e. g. ζευκτήριον, σημαντήριον (§ 77). d) analogical extensions of old instrument nouns, e. g. κλειδίον, ὀρύγιον (§ 78 f.).

B. *Tools and similar utensils.* a) Instrument nouns, see sub A. b) compounds, ὑπόλκιον (§ 50b), ἀκροφύσιον (§ 55). c) 'belonging to' or 'connected with,' λυχνίον (§ 80). d) 'made of,' μολύβδιον, σιδήριον, χαλκίον (§ 101 A). e) faded diminutives, σφυρίον, τερέτριον (§ 217). f) analogical extensions, see sub Ad.

C. *Vases, vessels, bags, boxes.* a) Instrument nouns, see sub A. b) 'made of,' ἀλαβάστριον (§ 101 G), κεράμιον (§ 101 B), χαλκίον, χρυσίον (§ 101 A). c) 'generalizing,' κιβώτιον, κυλίκιον, λεκάνιον, λοπάδιον (§ 118 C). d) 'specializing,' e. g. βατάκιον, πιθάκιον (§ 129 a). e) 'like the primitive,' e. g. ἀκάτιον (§ 144). f) analogical extensions, e. g. ἡδυπότιον (§ 129 b), τρύβλιον (§ 129 c). Also doubtless some classified as 'specializing.'

D. *Articles of dress.* a) From a preposition, ἀμφίον (§ 30). b) compounds, e. g. προσκόλπιον (§ 51. 1), ἡμιδιπλοίδιον (§ 57. 1). c) instrument noun, ἱμάτιον (§ 76). d) 'made of,' καννάβιον, πλίσιον, σπειρίον (§ 101 D). e) 'specializing,' e. g. περιζωμάτιον (§ 130 a), σκανδάλιον (§ 130 b). f) 'like' the primitive, ἀκάτιον, χιτώνιον (§ 145 A). g) analogical extensions, usually not to be distinguished from those originally 'specializing.'

E. *Jewels and other ornaments.* a) Compounds, περιουχένιον, περι-κάρπιον, ἐνώτιον (§ 51. 1). b) 'belonging to,' βραχιόνιον, ἱσθμίων (§ 82). c) 'like' the primitive, e. g. ἀνδράκιον, βουβάλιον, πυρήνιον (§ 145 B). d) analogical extensions, following either the words just mentioned or the smaller articles of dress (§ 130 c), e. g. σφραγίδιον.

F. *Juices, powders, and similar words designating an indeterminate mass.* a) Instrument noun, ἀλείφιον (§ 35). b) 'made of,' e. g. βελάνιον, μηχανώνιον (§ 101 E), ὀρόβιον, πυάνιον (§ 101 F), ψυκίον (§ 101 G). c) 'like' the primitive, κολλύριον, τέφριον (§ 150). d) analogical extensions, ὄπιον (§ 101 E), ψιμ(μ)ύδιον (§ 101 G). Also ἀρσενίζιον (Arist. De Plant. 2. 4. 826 a 6) = ἀρσενικόν 'yellow orpiment.' Θε(ι)-άγιον (Hes. sub θεῖον) = θέαρος, Justath. 1935. 23) 'sulphur.' ξήριον (Aet. 6. 92) = ξηρόν φάρμακον, a desiccative powder.

## XVIII. THE TIME OF THE ORIGIN OF THE DETERIORATIVE, DIMINUTIVE, AND HYPOCORISTIC USES OF -ιον.

261. After gaining a complete picture of the diversity and complicated development of the different meanings of the suffix -ιον it is at length possible to form an estimate upon the disputed question whether those of its uses which are usually grouped together as 'diminutive,' viz. the deteriorative, diminutive, and hypocoristic functions, are inherited from the Indo-European mother tongue or are purely a Greek development. To avoid incessant confusion as to what really is meant by the terms employed, I will say here that for the sake of brevity I use the term 'diminutive,' when enclosed in quotation marks, in the usual sense, so as to include the commonly associated deteriorative and hypocoristic uses, but do not include functions like that of designating similarity or descent. Although the latter may give rise to 'diminutive' meanings, it does not by any means follow that they



must always develop in this way, nor is it allowable to directly compare a certain formative which is a diminutive suffix in one language and cite as a proof of the same meaning in other languages words in which it really means 'descended from' or 'like' the primitive. To avoid such misunderstanding, then, it is necessary to distinguish between the terms referring to the different related meanings most carefully.

262. Since the suffix *-ων* is found in such a number of different meanings, and several of these may develop into 'diminutive' meanings, it is evident that the latter, even if found in several different languages, may have reached the same end by different roads, and then no conclusion as to the age of the usage would be gained by comparison. In order to be sure of the identity of origin of a 'diminutive' use of a suffix in different languages, each must first be examined on its own merits as far as possible, and only when the actual usage as well as the nature of the transition types coincides, is it possible to maintain connection of origin.

263. A number of attempts have been made to connect the 'diminutive' uses of Greek *-ων* with kindred uses in related languages, e. g. by Kluge, *Nom. Stammbild.*<sup>2</sup> 33 note 2; Schwabe, *De Dim. Graec. et Lat.* 53; and now Brugmann, *Gr. 2.* 1<sup>2</sup>. 676, who actually states that *-(i)io-* formed diminutives already in Indo-European times (p. 669). Against this view is that of Leo Meyer, *Vgl. Gramm.* 2. 479, and formerly Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> 180, who held that the diminutive development was post-Homeric. It will be of advantage to clear the ground by first examining the reasons for the former view. If they are such that they inevitably point to an Indo-European origin, we must do our best to bring the Greek into harmony; if, on the other hand, the arguments adduced are such as to merely bring forth ambiguous phenomena to support an a-prioristic theory, they may be neglected, and the burden of proof rests on the Greek.

264. The attempts of Schwabe to find cognates for the 'diminutive' uses of *-ων* need hardly be taken seriously today. When he brought forth Sanskrit patronymic formations like *deviya-s* and *sīhiya-s*, he could very well have compared *Τελχιδώνιος Αἶας*, but in comparing the Greek diminutives in *-ων* he commits not only the fatal mistake of comparing similar but by no means identical phenomena (§ 261), but fails to explain the discrepancy in gender. It is true that he claims that this is of no import, and that Greek secondarily changed its diminutives to the Neuter gender, whereas the Indo-European method

was to form them all of the same gender as their primitives, but he here assumes an unproven premise. Osthoff, *Patrubany Spr. Abh.* 2. 98 ff., had as much right to assume that the Neuter was the original gender, and Brugmann now (*IF.* 19. 215 f., *Gr. 2.* 1<sup>2</sup>. 669 f.) explains the discrepancies in gender by distinguishing between diminutives derived by means of substantive and adjective formatives. This shows that the gender of diminutives was not at all well understood by Schwabe, and that it really is a most important factor to be considered. Any comparisons between the Sanskrit masculines and the Greek neuters are therefore out of place until a rational cause for the difference is brought forth. That the tendency of Greek to change diminutives to neuters can not really have existed, is also shown by those in *-ισκος*-, *-ισκη*, which have no inclination whatever to so change.

265. Schwabe's comparison of Germanic forms are likewise irrelevant. The suffix of the Swiss diminutives in *-i*, e. g. *äugi*, *füeszi*, does not come from I. E. *-(i)io-m* but from *-ino-m*,<sup>1</sup> and the Dutch diminutives in *-(p)je* like *schaapje*, *kalfje*, *bloempje*, do not end in a suffix representing *-(i)io-m*, but *-kīno* > *-kīn*.<sup>2</sup> It is totally indifferent in this respect that I. E. *-(i)io* and *-ino-* may be ultimately related.<sup>3</sup> Whatever their origin, these two suffixes were completely developed in I. E. times, and it is necessary to determine the semantic history of each one separately. Only after I. E. 'diminutive' meaning has been proven for both suffixes independently, can there be any justifiable speculation as to the ultimate identity of the uses of Greek *-ων* and Germanic *-ina-*. Schwabe's contention, therefore, that since *i* is the characteristic letter of *-ων*, all other suffixes which contain *i* must be related, lacks all support. This sound, as well as all other sounds, originated in more than one way, and aside from this, semantic identity does not follow from ultimate formal identity.

266. Brugmann discards the comparisons of Schwabe, but brings forth different ones. In the first place, like Kluge,<sup>4</sup> he finds an I. E. 'diminutive' *-(i)io-m* in O. Icel. *fyl* 'foal' and *kið* 'kid.' Both words are neuters, end in the *-(i)io* suffix, and designate young animals; and the former has a striking cognate in Gr. *πωλίον* (though with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Old High German words like *zicchi* 'little goat,' Kluge, *Nom. Stammbild.*<sup>2</sup> 29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wrede, *op. cit.* 81 ff. Otherwise Jan Te Winkel, *Gr. Ger. Phil.* 1. 874.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *K. Vgl. Gr.* 435 note.

<sup>4</sup> *Nom. Stammbild.*<sup>2</sup> 33 note 2.



a different grade of the root-vowel), an undoubted diminutive. If the I. E. origin of the diminutive use of  $-(i)io-m$  were actually established, it would be a safe inference to regard these words as Germanic remnants of it; but they can not be used as a proof; for the primitives themselves have the very same meaning (cf. Gr.  $\pi\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , Goth. *fula*, O. Icel. *fole*, etc.). The large number of  $-io$  words even in Greek, where it was a living diminutive suffix, which have attained to complete equivalence with their primitives in a multitude of different ways, forbid us to assume that *fyl* and *kid* were certainly 'diminutives' in origin. Just as well their suffix could have meant 'belonging to the category of' (cf. O. H. G. *swîn* (§ 113), which does not designate a young animal), or have been attracted by some congeneric word. In addition to these two words Kluge (l. c.) suggests a few other possible Germanic  $-(i)io-m$  diminutives, which, however, are much farther removed from the limits of probability. Neither Goth. *nati* 'net' nor O. Nor. *eple* 'apple,' nor O. H. G. *kinni* 'chin,' *bini* 'bee' could ever have been taken as diminutives on their own account, and O. H. G. *fingeri* 'finger ring' is, of course, not 'a little finger,' but 'that which belongs to the finger.' Precisely like the Germanic *fyl* is the Prussian *maldian*<sup>1</sup> 'foal.' The suffix is here also not the exponent of small size, but that idea is already an element in the meaning of the primitive; for *maldian* is related to *maldai*<sup>2</sup> 'young.' It is, therefore, a *petitio principii* to assume that it must have originated as a diminutive.

267. From the Latin Brugmann<sup>3</sup> doubtfully brings forth *senium*, usually an abstract noun with the meaning 'old age,' but also applied to an old man with a deteriorative shade. He suggests that this latter use might be a remnant of I. E. diminutive  $-(i)io-m$ , but admits that the concrete meaning may have developed from the abstract. Since the latter is actually extant, and by far the more common use, this would seem to be much preferable. Brugmann further surmises that Latin 'diminutives' in  $-iōn-$ ,<sup>4</sup> like *senecio*, *homuncio*, *pusio*, and *pumilio*, contain old  $-(i)io-$  remodelled by an  $-n-$  suffix. This explanation is again not impossible, but rather a violent one when we consider how much more easily the Latin words are explained on the basis of the Latin uses of the suffix  $-iōn-$ . It was used to form de-

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 676.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Berneker, Die Preussische Sprache p. 306, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 676 note.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Meyer, ALL. 5. 230; Stolz, Hist. Gr. 492 f.

nominative masculine personal names, and these could often get a humorous tinge when its addition lent a mock aspect of dignity to a concept which was considered undignified. Thus while there is no humorous element in *centurio* 'centurion,' *curio* 'priest of a curia,' and *histrion* 'actor,' the addition of this personal suffix is the very source of the humor in words like *cūrio* 'sorrowful specimen of humanity,' *essurio* 'ravenous fellow,' *tenebrio* 'swindler,' *vulpio* 'foxy fellow,' *toculio* 'usurer,' *longurio* 'bean-pole.' It is only a slightly different form of humor when *pusus* 'a little boy' becomes *pusio*, *pumilo* 'dwarf' becomes *pumilio*, and *senex* 'old man' becomes *senecio*.<sup>1</sup> That such formations were oftener prompted by damaging wit than by playful humor, is as might be expected, and consequently the deteriorative shade became most prominent, e. g. in *senecio* and *homuncio*. Nevertheless a formation of this kind might also be used in a good-humored sportive mood, and then the suffix would sometimes appear as though it was charged with hypocoristic meaning, e. g. occasionally in *pusio*. Real diminutive meaning, however, does not seem to occur except as secondary to the deteriorative.<sup>2</sup> It must be borne in mind, of course, that the source of the idea of small size in *pusio* and *pumilio* is not the suffix, but the root ideas 'boy' and 'dwarf.' On the other hand, the diminutive idea in *homuncio* is quite subordinate and incidental to the deteriorative. It is repeatedly (Ter. Eun. 591, Cic. Ac. 2. 134, Sen. Ep. 116. 6, Juv. 5. 133) applied to man in contrast to the gods, but not because he was thought of primarily as smaller, but as weaker and comparatively powerless.<sup>3</sup> It is, then, totally unnecessary to go beyond the Latin to explain the uses of the 'diminutive'  $-iōn-$ ; but even if

<sup>1</sup> By analogy to *senecio* arose *homun-cio*, the latter word taking over not only the suffix of the former, but also the *c* of the stem. This was the easier because the oblique cases of *senex* were formed from the stem *sen-*, and in comparison with these the *c* of *senecio* could appear to belong to the suffix. That the *c* of *homuncio* should have been a solitary remnant of I. E. diminutive  $-ko-$  (Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 676) does not seem particularly probable.

<sup>2</sup> *Homuncio* is also not a pure diminutive in Sueton. Vit. Hor., where Augustus calls Horace "purissimum penem et homuncionem lepidissimum." There is no point to the latter oxymoron unless *homuncio* is habitually thought of as a deteriorative.

<sup>3</sup> *Homuncio* is consequently slightly different from  $\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in Euripides (§ 205). Since the latter is put into the mouth of the giant Cyclops as a term of address to Odysseus, the diminutive idea is in this case the more prominent, while the deteriorative element follows from it.



it is preferred to find cognates outside of the Latin, why is it necessary to go so far as to assume a remodelling of a diminutive suffix of which the existence is unproven for Latin, when there are close at hand words which are both formally and semantically related? Greek *μαλακίων* 'tender-foot,' *δειλακρίων* 'unfortunate wretch,' and *Ἀττικίων*, a contemptuous name for an Athenian, end in the same suffix as Lat. *senecio*, and have the same deteriorative shade of meaning, and yet Brugmann<sup>1</sup> admits that they were purely a Greek development, and that *Ἀττικίων*, whose the root-meaning will not account for its deteriorative shade, was modelled upon *μαλακίων* and *δειλακρίων*. That these can not have been due to an extension of old *-ων* is self-evident; for the latter was a living diminutive suffix in Greek, and there could be no impulse to change the common formation to a new one which was otherwise free from 'diminutive' meaning. If, then, the deteriorative meaning of *-iōn-* can develop in Greek alone, it can do so in Latin, and we may conclude that similar causes produced similar results in the two languages independently of each other. It is, however, also possible to assume direct connection of the Greek and Latin uses; but to let the former develop the deteriorative meaning from old *-iōn-*, and to divorce the latter from it in order to establish a second-cousinship with an Indo-European phantom, is not a convincing method of procedure.

268. Finally, Brugmann compares with Greek *-ων* a number of Balto-Slavic diminutive conglutinates ending in I. E. *-(i)io-*, e. g. Lith. *-ytis*, O. Blg. *-išt̃s*, Lith. *-elis*, *-ēlis*, *-užis*, *-isztis* Pruss. *-istian*. While admitting that at present the suffixal element preceding the *-is* has become the exponent of the diminutive meaning,<sup>2</sup> he appears to base his opinion of the relation of these words to *-ων* on a course of reason like the following. The formation of neuter derivatives from masculine and feminine primitives is something that belongs peculiarly to 'diminutives,' and consequently if this gender is established as used in derivation from other genders, this is a strong indication that the suffix which takes the neuter is originally a diminutive suffix, and this all the more so when it occurs as the final member of conglutinates of undoubted 'diminutive' meaning. Of the latter there can be no doubt for the conglutinates mentioned above, and as to the Neuter gender, it is an established fact for Prussian words like

<sup>1</sup> Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 316, 685.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 675 note.

wos-istian 'kid': wosee 'goat,' gert-istian 'chicken': gerto 'hen.' Original neuters are also made probable for the Lithuanian by certain discrepancies of gender, in as much as masculine diminutives are formed from feminine primitives, e. g. *upēlis* m. 'little river': *upė* f. 'river.'<sup>1</sup> Since the Lithuanian Neuter gender has merged into the Masculine, words like *upēlis* may very well represent original neuters, and thus is gained at the same time an explanation of these discrepancies of gender and a proof for the existence of 'diminutive' *-(i)io-m* in Lithuanian.

269. Ingenious as this chain of argument is, it repeatedly operates with unproven premises. In the first place, the discrepancies of gender between primitive and derivative in Lithuanian do not necessarily prove an original Neuter gender. Similar abnormalities occur not only between Lith. *-ka-s*, *-kė* and their diminutives, e. g. *visztūkas* m. 'little chicken': *visztà* f., which are explained by Brugmann as following the analogy of those ending in *-is*,<sup>2</sup> but also for I. E. *-ko-* and *-lo-* diminutives<sup>3</sup> and the Greek ones in *-ιος*,<sup>4</sup> which can not be explained in any such way. If such discrepancies can be secondary for all other languages, they may be in Lithuanian,<sup>5</sup> unless it has been shown that the usual forces which cause aberrations of gender, e. g. the influence of congeneric words, are insufficient for it. Nevertheless, the question is not of much importance for our point of view, since the neuters actually existed in the Prussian, and that would be sufficient to establish 'diminutive' *-(i)io-m* in Balto-Slavic territory if the rest of the argument were valid.

<sup>1</sup> Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 671 f. Cf. also Osthoff, *Patrubany Spr. Abh.* 2. 100 f.

<sup>2</sup> l. c.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *IF.* 19. 216 note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Janson, *De Graec. Serm. Dim.* in *-ιος* *-ιων* 7 f., *De Graec. Serm. Nom. Dim. et Ampl.* 67 f.

<sup>5</sup> At first sight the absence of feminine diminutives to masculine primitives (cf. Osthoff, l. c.) would seem to be a point in Osthoff's and Brugmann's favor for establishing an original neuter *-ijom* in the Lithuanian, if that needs any more proof than the existence of the Prussian neuters. Yet it would be too much to say that the original Neuter gender is the only conceivable cause for the predominance of the masculines. It is at least equally probable that it started from the use of the Masculine where both male and female were designated, i. e. by its use as common gender. Since we comparatively rarely think of the sex of young animals, the Masculine, as the common gender, was used for the diminutive designating them, and so we find masculine diminutives corresponding to feminine primitives as well as masculines. From these patterns the usage spread to names of things also.



270. It is, however, a perfectly untenable theory that either-(i)om or the Neuter gender of derivatives from masculine and feminine primitives had the slightest tendency to be confined to diminutives. It was the favorite gender for all kinds of substantivations from -(i)io- adjectives from Indo-European times, no matter whether the suffix meant 'belonging to,' 'coming from,' 'made of,' etc. Thus Skr. gāvya-m 'that which comes from the cow,' 'cow's milk' has the feminine primitive gāū-s 'cow,' and even in the Greek non-diminutive neuters in -ων are at least as frequent as 'diminutives,' cf. e. g. σφηκίων 'cell of wasps' nest': σφήξ m., βουκόλιον 'herd of cows': βουκόλος m., κεράμιον 'earthenware vessel': κέραμος m., σιδήριον 'iron tool': σιδηρός m., ἰνίον 'neck': ἴνας f., θηρίον: θήρ m. Nor is Prussian -ian confined to 'diminutives': cf. camstian 'sheep,' kelian 'spear,' kalabian 'sword,' laitian 'sausage.'

271. And finally, the mere fact that -(i)io- existed as the final member of certain Balto-Slavic 'diminutive' conglutinates is not the slightest indication that the 'diminutive' force was ever perceived to have been connected with that part of the word. The suffix -ia- occurs in so many conglutinates without 'diminutive' meaning, that it would be as rash to assume that the latter was ever lodged in the -is of -elis or -ytis, as that the agent idea of the conglutinate -tōjis originally belonged to its final member. The -ia- had merely become a favorite declensional ending with no more of a tangible meaning than the n-suffix of the Germanic weak declension. No one could think of saying that the 'diminutive' meaning of the Gothic -ilōn<sup>1</sup> (= -ilo- + weak declension) in words like mawilō 'little maiden' or barnilō 'little child' was ever lodged in the -n-, and yet the case is exactly parallel to the Lithuanian -elis and -uzis. Just to show that these need not have anything to do with any inherited meaning of -(i)io-, I will call attention to the following possible origin. The suffix -iē- was widely used to form feminines not only from masculines in -(i)io-, but also from other classes.<sup>2</sup> Thus the feminine to Lith. vilka-s m. 'wolf' is vilkė, and to dēva-s m. 'god' it is deivė. Regularly a masculine agent noun in -ika-s has a feminine counterpart in -ikė.<sup>3</sup> Similarly Balto-Slavic -ela- in masculine diminutives could have formed a feminine in -eliē- Lith. -elė. But since these feminines in -iē could also be formed from masculines in -ia- (Lith. N. S. -is), a feeling of uncertainty as to what was the corresponding masculine

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polzin, op. cit. 2; Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 375.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Leskien, Bildung der Nom. 281 f.; Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 220 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leskien, l. c.

to a certain feminine could result in forming a new masculine in -ia- instead of the original -a-, -elia- Lith. -elis instead of -ela-. In this way the -ia- lost all meaning except that of gender, and could be attached to any masculine word as a counterpart to feminine -iē-.

272. Since, then, the Balto-Slavic has also failed to give certain indication of a 'diminutive' use of -(i)io-m, we may sum up our result up to this point as follows. Every comparison of non-Greek suffixes with diminutive -ων arose rather from a search to find cognates for the latter than from an unbiased examination of the usage of the languages compared. While these comparisons may strengthen the assumption of an I. E. origin if that is otherwise established, they are in themselves no indication whatever, because all of these phenomena can also be explained differently, and the explanations given for some are even intrinsically improbable. The burden of proof thus rests on the Greek (§ 263); if it points to a prehistoric origin, it is possible that the diminutive use of -ων dates back to the parent language; if, however, it points to origin in historical or even purely Greek times, the final word has been spoken.

273. It is a fact commented upon by both ancient and modern grammarians that the Homeric poems do not contain any diminutives. Cf. Schol. ad Dionys. Thr. AB. 856, Janson, op. cit. 4 ff., Leo Meyer, Vgl. Gram. 2. 478. As to the reason for this absence there has been diversity of opinion, and we may distinguish three different possible causes in which the explanation may be sought. It may be due: (1) to individual reasons, because the poet or class of poets had a repugnance to diminutives either because they had a vulgar flavor or because they considered them out of place in elevated style; (2) for dialectical reasons, because the poets' dialect did not know them; or (3) for chronological reasons, because the Greek language of their time had not yet developed this meaning.

274. It is the first which has usually been deemed the cause of the lack of Homeric diminutives, both in ancient and modern times, and it has been laid down as a general précept that elevated language avoided diminutives. Cf. Schol. ad Dionys. l. c.; G. Mueller, De Ling. Lat. Dim. 15; Janson, l. c. While there can be no doubt that language in its higher flights can not revel in diminutives like some popular dialects, it does not necessarily follow that it must avoid them altogether, and Ryhiner, De Dim. Plaut. Terent. 3, has pointed out that Lucretius has used them repeatedly, in spite of the elevation of his style, e. g. angellus (2. 428), and crepitacillum (5. 229). At times



diminutives, like many other effects borrowed by poets from daily speech, could even become a valuable resource of expression, and it does not seem possible that Homer, who usually did not at all disdain grotesque effects of language, who does not hesitate to use such rude warriors' jests as speaking of the dying as 'biting the dust with their teeth,' who lets Achilles and Agamemnon shout against each other an array of the most vulgar abusive names,<sup>1</sup> would suddenly have had compunctions to use the powerfully derisive effect to be gained by an *-ιον* deteriorative any more than the orators found it opposed to their dignity to employ such words in their most exalted orations. An other objection to this view is the total absence in Homer of faded diminutives, which can not be distinguished by the speaker from words in the same suffix which never did have diminutive meaning, and thus could not meet with any more objection than the latter. What German poet would care, or even be able to avoid the use of the faded diminutive 'Mädchen,' no matter how exalted his style? Theognis, who also seems to have avoided diminutives on the whole, let *αἰλίσκος* slip in once. Yet of all Homeric words in *-ιον* there is only one which could even be pressed into service as an original diminutive, and this one (*τειχίον*)<sup>2</sup> is better explained otherwise (§ 147 B); and yet, if the 'diminutive' use of *-ιον* was really already Indo-European, it must have existed many centuries before Homer. This objection can not be met on the grounds that the ill flavor of these *-ιον* 'diminutives' had already spread to non-diminutive *-ιον* words, and that the poet therefore avoided all words with this suffix. On the contrary, the Homeric poets had no objection to use such *-ιον* words as later became tabooed for tragedy. Thus *ἄράγιον*, *θηρίον*, *ἰστίον*, *ἰσχίον*, *μηρίον*, *οἰκίον*, and *τειχίον* are all Homeric, though not allowed in tragedy; *ἄκόντιον* occurs in the Homeric hymn to Hermes, and *φορτίον* in Hesiod, but both are put on the blacklist by the tragedians. The inference, then, is not that Homer and the early Epic poets objected to any *-ιον* word, but that they were much less

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e. g. *ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένην, κερδαλέωφρον* (A 149), *ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδής* (A 158), *κυνῶπα* (A 159), *οἶνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο* (A 225), *δημοβόρος βασιλεύς* (A 231).

<sup>2</sup> The diminutive idea has been sought in this word by Buttmann because it designates e. g. the wall of a court-yard, which is smaller than a city wall (*τείχος*). The mere fact that the derivative designates a smaller object than the primitive does not make the former a diminutive here any more than O.H.G. *finger* 'finger-ring' is a diminutive because it designates a smaller object than a finger.

averse to them than the tragedians, and we may consequently conclude that something took place in the interval to bring about this change. Only through the development of the 'diminutive' meaning of *-ιον* in the meantime can the change of attitude of the poets be explained. The question now arises in what way the development of 'diminutive' *-ιον* could have caused the general proscription of words in that suffix. Partially, perhaps, this was due to the colloquial flavor which arose in 'diminutives' and spread to other words in the same suffix; but a much more powerful influence in their avoidance was undoubtedly the example of Homer. It is those kinds of poetry which are most thoroughly influenced by the early Epic diction, i. e. the later Epic as well as all the Tragic, Elegiac, and later Choric poetry, e. g. Pindar and Bacchylides, that go farthest in the avoidance of 'diminutives,' and after the tradition had once been built up, Homer was out-Homered, and nearly every denominative *-ιον* word was ousted from the list. That the objection to diminutives can not entirely or even mainly be due to their ill flavor, is seen from the early Choric poet Aleman, who wrote in the Doric dialect and was not strongly influenced by Homer, and so used diminutives in *-ιον* without hesitation, in spite of the fact that even his Choric poetry could certainly not have stooped to use words of a really undignified flavor. Moreover, since Euripides in his *Cyclops* and Sophocles in his satyric plays<sup>1</sup> also used 'diminutives,' it would seem to be reasonably clear that the cause of their total avoidance in tragedy was chiefly the influence of the Epic tradition. And since the latter can only be explained by the assumption that the earlier Epic poets did not know them (see above), the theory that diminutives were avoided because of the repugnance of the Epic poets to them is totally untenable.

275. To the question whether the absence of *-ιον* 'diminutives' in Homer is due to their absence in his dialect, although they were known in Greece generally at his time, the Homeric poems themselves do not give a decisive answer. This proposition would seem to derive some support from the fact that Homer also did not use 'diminutives' in *-ισκος*, which was certainly a dialectic peculiarity due to the Aeolic ground-work of the poems, since there is not a single example of the suffix in any meaning either in Homer or the Aeolic lyrics or the Aeolic<sup>2</sup> inscriptions, not even in proper names.<sup>3</sup> As far as *-ιον* is con-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Janson, op. cit. 7.

<sup>2</sup> By Aeolic I mean the Aeolic of Lesbos and Asia Minor.

<sup>3</sup> The *Φιλίσκος* of CB. 306. 2 is a Rhodian.



cerned, it does indeed occur in all of these sources, but not in 'diminutive' meaning. It is uncertain, however, whether this is due to the meagerness of the sources, or whether it was also a dialectic peculiarity.

276. The question, then, is thrown upon the few fragments of lyric poetry antedating the fifth century B. C., and of these again almost entirely upon the Iambic and Melic poetry, since the Elegiac poets were also strongly influenced by the Epic, and again upon those which were not written in the Aeolic dialect (cf. § 275). It would seem at first sight that the fact that the decision lies with such a very few short fragments would make a negative decision perfectly worthless because liable to be due to the accident of transmission. Fortunately, however, comparison with the 'diminutives' in *-ισκος-* will yield a wellnigh certain conclusion. Although in later times diminutives in *-ων* were many times more numerous than those in *-ισκος-*, yet in these few lyric fragments the total absence of anything that could reasonably be taken as an *-ων* diminutive is in contrast with ten clear cases of *-ισκος-*, mostly in deteriorative and hypocoristic functions. These are as follows: *ἀκερίσκον*<sup>1</sup> (Hippon. 18), *ἀλλίσκος* (Theogn. 241), *θριδάκισκα* (Alem. 20), *κορίσκα* (id. 23. 101), *κυπαρίσκος* (id. 38), *κυπαρσίσκος* (Hippon. 18), *μελίσκον* (Alem. 65), *σαμβάλισκον* (Hippon. 18), *σκιαδίσκη* (Anacr. 21. 13), and *στεφανίσκος* (id. 54). Since these words come from both Ionic and Doric dialects, it is highly improbable that *-ων* should have existed in 'diminutive' meaning in these same dialects at that time; and since there also is no evidence for the latter in the Aeolic dialect (§ 275), it is a nearly certain conclusion that the 'diminutive' uses of *-ων* could not have existed in Greece at that time except in the merest beginnings, and certainly could not have had behind it thousands of years of development, as is presupposed by the supposition of Indo-European origin. Just when the origin of the 'diminutive' use is to be placed, it would be futile to ask. The earliest example is *πόδιον* 'a little foot' in the *Ἡβας Γάμος* of Epicharmus,<sup>2</sup> and thus there is no case of a clear *-ων* diminutive before the fifth century B. C., and in the interval between this period and the time of the lyric poets the development must probably have taken place. On the one hand, how-

<sup>1</sup> One would expect a feminine *ἀκερίσκη* (: *ἀσκήρα*), but the analogy and contact of the neuter *σαμβάλισκον* (: *σάμβαλον*) caused the change: *καὶ σαμβάλισκα καὶ ἀκερίσκα*.

<sup>2</sup> For the obscure *σκιγύδιον* (in the conglutinate *-υδριον*) of the same work see § 328. I. For *Πριαμὶλλίδριον*, also in Epicharmus, see § 328. II.

ever, the popular language may have been ahead of the literary language, and at any rate the preliminary steps in the development of the 'diminutive' ideas must have been taken some time previous; on the other hand, however, the rarity of 'diminutives' in Epicharmus in comparison with their extreme frequency in Aristophanes and the fragments of the later Attic comedy shows that the usage can not yet have progressed very far in his time.

277. The result thus gained from examining the occurrence of 'diminutives' in literature is roughly confirmed by phonological considerations. As was pointed out § 16, the 'diminutive' meanings are found only in the historic Greek *-ων*. Whenever I. E. *-iō-m* was so changed by phonetic processes that it could not be recognized as two distinct syllables, or when the suffix had the form *-io-m* from the beginning, no diminutive force could be attached to it. Thus no word like *πεζόν* < *\*πεδjon*, nor one which ended in the conglutinates *-αιον*, *-ειον*, or *-ουον*, in which the *ι* formed part of a diphthong, is ever a 'diminutive.' The only disputed word is *ἐγγέλειον* 'eel' (: *ἐγγελυς*), which Liddell and Scott doubtfully so classify; but aside from the fact that no 'diminutive' meaning is apparent in any passage where it occurs (Pherecr. frg. frg. 2. 300; Callias frg. 2. 735; Ar. frg. 2. 1077; Antiphan. frg. 3. 21, 71, 130; Alexis frg. 3. 455; Theophil. frg. 3. 627; Poseidipp. frg. 4. 517), its adjectival origin is plainly shown by Pherecr. 2. 269, *ὑπάρχει τέμυχρος ἐγγέλειον ὕμν*. The reason for this limitation of 'diminutive' meaning to disyllabic *-ων* can be only that this function had developed in *-ων* after all of these phonetic changes had taken place, e. g. after *-δj-* had become *-ζ-*, and *-ασι-*, *-εσι-*, *-οσι-* had become *-αι-*, *-ει-*, *-ου-*, i. e. after the separate existence of the Greek language. It might be argued that diminutives e. g. in these conglutinates could have existed originally, but were latter changed to end in *-ων* because of the much greater frequency of the latter. If such were the case, however, we would expect that the many centuries between the I. E. time of development and these Greek phonetic changes would have produced at least one solitary faded 'diminutive' which was no longer recognized as such at the latter period, and would consequently reveal the early age of the 'diminutive' development to us by escaping the influence of analogy in levelling these phonetic changes, but not one plausible example of this kind is forthcoming.

278. Another indication of the post-Homeric origin of *-ων* with 'diminutive' force is the accentuation of *παιδίον*, which, as we have



seen § 182, was the principal pattern type of the diminutives, and so one of the very oldest. Since  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma < \pi\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$  was often still dissyllabic  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$  in Homer, the diminutive, if formed in early Homeric times, would have accented the penultima, for it would have been contracted from  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ , and the accent is never shifted after such a contraction (§ 21, end). Consequently  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  must have originated after  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$  had become  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ , i. e. later than the earlier portions of Homer, and thus shows that all of the words modelled upon it, i. e. nearly the whole diminutive category, also can not antedate the Epic.

279. We may state our final conclusion as follows. Over against the failure of those who believe in the I. E. origin of the 'diminutive' uses of  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  to bring forth a single convincing proof or inevitable comparison, the direct evidence of Greek Literature and phonetic changes shows the development not only to have been a purely Greek one, but even post-Homeric, and the evidence of the Lyric poets shows that the usage could not have exceeded the smallest beginnings in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C.

#### XIX. CONGLUTINATES WITH $-\iota\omicron\nu$ AS FINAL MEMBER.

280. For 'diminutive' conglutinates with  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  as final member there are to be considered three main possibilities of origin.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the first part of the conglutinate is not a diminutive suffix at all, and the  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  coalesced with it because a certain word was analyzed wrongly for some reason or other, so that a part of the primitive was supposed to be a part of the diminutive ending. Thus  $\sigma\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  :  $\sigma\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu$  was analyzed  $\sigma\iota\nu$ - $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  because referred to  $\sigma\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , and gave rise to the conglutinate  $-\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  in words like  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho$ - $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . So  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\delta$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  was divided  $\pi\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ - $\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  and gave rise to  $\beta\omicron\upsilon$ - $\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $\gamma\eta$ - $\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  imposed its  $-\delta\rho$ - upon its opposite  $*\theta\eta\lambda\acute{\upsilon}$ - $\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , which in turn was analyzed  $*\theta\eta\lambda$ - $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  and created the suffix  $-\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  in  $\xi\epsilon\nu$ - $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\varsigma$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$ , analyzed  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$ - $\varsigma\iota\omicron\nu$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ - $\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\omicron\nu$ , gave rise to  $\delta\rho\acute{\nu}\iota$ - $\varsigma\iota\omicron\nu$  or  $\delta\rho\nu$ - $\acute{\iota}\varsigma\iota\omicron\nu$ ;  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  :  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ , analyzed  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda$ - $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omicron\nu$ , to  $\theta\eta\rho$ - $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\omicron\nu$ ;  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  :  $\chi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$  gave rise to  $\sigma\tau\eta\theta$ - $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ .

281. Similar to these words is the second group of conglutinates, of which the first part occurs as a 'diminutive' suffix elsewhere, but not in the words which gave rise to the conglutinates. Thus  $-\iota\delta$ -

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Belič, Arch. f. sl. Phil. 23. 138 ff.

forms a few diminutives from early times, but the suffix  $-\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ <sup>1</sup> mostly did not originate in words which already had a diminutive  $-\iota\delta$ -, but rather in words like  $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\nu\iota\delta$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$ , which, though coming from the primitive  $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\nu\iota\varsigma$ , yet could be referred to the equivalent  $\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\alpha$  and so analyzed  $\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\alpha\iota\nu$ - $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ . Similarly  $-\alpha\kappa$ - is a rare diminutive suffix e. g. in  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$  'jewel,' but the conglutinate  $-\alpha\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  arose from words in which  $-\alpha\kappa$ - either never had 'diminutive' force or in which it was faded. Thus  $\kappa\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  :  $\kappa\lambda\tilde{\iota}\mu\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$  'ladder' seems to have given rise to  $\kappa\lambda\iota\sigma\mu$ - $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ , and  $\pi\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  (:  $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$  'writing-tablet') to  $\pi\iota\tau\tau$ - $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ . The suffix  $-\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron$ - f.  $-\iota\sigma\kappa\eta$  was both a 'diminutive' and non-diminutive suffix, and some words in  $-\iota\sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  follow patterns in which  $-\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron$ - did not have 'diminutive' meaning, e. g.  $\chi\iota\tau\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  'a tunic' formed a diminutive  $\chi\iota\tau\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$ , which was analyzed  $\chi\iota\tau\omega\nu$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  and gave rise to  $\chi\lambda\alpha\nu$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ .

282. The third class of diminutive conglutinates consists of those of which both parts are living diminutive suffixes in the very words in which the conglutinates came into existence, i. e. a diminutive suffix was added to a word which was already a 'diminutive' in form and meaning. So  $\nu\eta\varsigma$ - $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  (gen.  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ) 'a little island' became  $\nu\eta\varsigma$ - $\acute{\iota}\delta$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\phi\lambda\upsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\nu$ - $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  'a little blister' became  $\phi\lambda\upsilon\kappa\tau\alpha\iota\nu$ - $\acute{\iota}\delta$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$ . Similarly  $\mu\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\kappa$ - $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  'contemptible youth' probably goes back to  $*\mu\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ - $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  with the same meaning, and  $\mu\epsilon\lambda$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  'little song' takes the place of the earlier  $\mu\epsilon\lambda$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$ , which, is itself a diminutive. A word of this kind with a double 'diminutive' suffix could easily be referred to the first primitive, e. g.  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$  to  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , and then the two suffixes appeared as one, and consequently  $\mu\epsilon\lambda$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa$ - $\iota\omicron\nu$  gave rise to  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ , without interposition of  $*\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau$ - $\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$ . The motive of this kind of conglutination usually is to give more than the usual force to the expression of small size, contempt, or endearment, e. g.  $\lambda\iota\delta$ - $\alpha\tilde{\rho}\acute{\iota}$ - $\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  'tiny little bit of a jewel.' Often words with two or more living 'diminutive' suffixes have a humorous tinge, particularly those ending in the more complex suffixes, which are often of such a nature as to raise a laugh by their very appearance. Thus Aristotle quotes from Aristophanes as used while joking ( $\sigma\alpha\omega\pi\tau\omega\nu$ ) the words  $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\delta$ - $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . As to the frequency of this manner of conglutination for emphasis, an inspection of the following pages will show that it was very much rarer than that by the mechanical process of wrong division of words of the first two groups. The importance which is often attached to the intensive doubling of suffixes is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 306 ff.



not at all justified, and least of all the attitude of Schwabe, who felt at liberty to assume that both parts of any conglutinate were originally independent 'diminutive' suffixes.

283. There are still other methods by which 'diminutive' conglutinates arise, but they hardly much affect Greek -*ων*. Thus in the Gothic -*ilōn*- the source of the 'diminutive' force was in the first part from the beginning, and the -*n*- suffix was merely a formal addition for the purpose of bringing the words into the favorite system of declension, and so was the -*is* of Lith. -*elis*, -*uzis*, etc. (§ 271). A somewhat similar part is played in certain dialects by Greek -*ων* in -*ισκων* derived from neuter primitives. The expected -*ισκον* became so rare e. g. in the Attic dialect, that people welcomed the opportunity given by the 'diminutive' -*ων* to bring all neuters in -*ισκο*- into the familiar -*ων* category, and consequently was formed *κανίσκων*: *κάνεων*, not *κανίσκον*.

284. Conglutination of suffixes is only apparent when a 'diminutive' suffix is added to a permanently faded diminutive. Thus *ὀψάριον*, originally a hypocoristic form for *ὄψον*, became the ordinary word for 'fish' as food, and consequently, when the diminutive *ὀψαρίδιον* was formed from it, the -*αρι*- necessarily remained intimately connected with the root *ὀψ*- as part of one and the same idea, and there is no necessity of the diminutive force being sought in -*αριδιον* and the consequent abstraction of such a suffix. When, however, the 'diminutive' force of a certain primitive was felt by some and not by others, the transmission of its 'diminutive' derivative from a speaker to whom the primitive had no 'diminutive' force to a hearer who did feel it in that way, could cause the latter to abstract a complex conglutinate from a word like *ὀψαρίδιον*.

285. The efficient causes for the creation of conglutinates have already been touched upon, and sufficiently discussed for the intensive doubling of suffixes. For conglutinates of which the first part is non-diminutive, two forces are of the greatest importance, the existence of a simpler by-form to which the 'diminutive' can be referred rather than to the real primitive, and the direct influence of related or congeneric words. As examples of the former I have already mentioned the existence of *αἶνος*, to which *αἰνάριον* could be referred, alongside of *αἶναρον*, and *θεράπαινα*, to which *θεραπαινίδιον* could be referred instead of *θεραπαινίς*. Similarly *χυτρίδιον*: *χυτρίς*, *χύτρα*; *μαινίδιον*: *μαινίς*, *μαίνη*; *χρυσίδιον*: *χρυσίον*, *χρυσός*; *κοτυλίσιον*: *κοτυλίσιος*, *κότυλος*. In every case, after a compound suffix like -*ιδιον*

was once abstracted, it could be felt as a single diminutive suffix and become productive on its own account, without necessarily remaining within the bounds prescribed by its origin or the laws of congeneric association.

286. The second cause for the mechanical abstraction of conglutinates is the tendency to make words which are particularly closely associated with one another take the same endings, since the latter were easily felt as designating the class to which an object belonged (§ 252 f.). Thus the fact that *πινάκιον* was 'a writing-tablet' caused *πιττάκιον* (: *πίττα*), designating a different kind of a tablet, to get its -*ακιον*, although it did not have a primitive in -*αζ*, and so probably *μαννάκιον* 'a neck-lace' (: *μάννα*) after *σαμάκιον* (: *σάμαξ*), another kind of women's ornament. *χελύνιον* 'lip,' 'jaw' influenced *σπηθύριον* (: *σπῆθος*), since both were parts of the body; *σισάριον* (: *σίσαρον*), a certain woman's ornament, gave rise to *ἐν-ωτ-άριον* instead of *ἐνώτιον* 'ear-ring,' although otherwise -*αριον* does not take the place of the compound forming -*ων*; *ἐλάριον* (: *ἐλαφος*) 'little deer,' as being a name of an animal, gave its -*αριον* to *θηράριον* 'little animal'; and *ἐρίριον* (: *ἐριφος*) 'little kid' gave its -(i)*ριον* to *ὀρνίθιον* 'little bird.' The association of opposites gave rise to a conglutinate in case of *\*θηλύδριον* (: *θηλυ*) after *ἀνδρίον* (§ 325), the association of etymologically related words caused *κλισμάκιον* (: *κλισμός*) 'little couch,' after *κλιμάκιον* 'little ladder.' In all of these cases in which a conglutinate arose because of association with another word, the new word, when thought of in connection with its primitive rather than the associated word, revealed the existence of the new suffix; *πιττάκιον*, when referred to *πίττα*, *κλισμάκιον*, when referred to *κλισμός*, necessarily caused a consciousness of the suffix -*ακιον*, which could then give rise to new formations.

287. An altogether singular cause of conglutination gave rise to the suffix -*διον*. The accident that the Vocative of *παῖς*, viz. *παῖ*, did not have -*δ*-, together with the frequency of that case in hypocorisms (§ 235), caused *παιδίον* to be referred to *παῖ* and so analyzed *παι-δίον*.

288. The causes of the spread of the different individual suffixes can, of course, not be accurately determined, since individual preferences for one suffix or the other or peculiar external circumstances largely governed their use. Largely, of course, attraction of congeneric words caused their spread in one line or other. Sometimes certain formal categories have a predilection for a certain suffix, e. g. the late 'diminutives' in -*αδιον* are largely derived from -*α* stems



(§ 323). The suffix *-διον* again had a tendency to be attached to monosyllabic bases, e. g. *βούδιον* : *βούς*, *γάδιον* : *γά*, *ζώδιον* : *ζώον*. The reason why so many 'diminutives' retained *-ιον*, while many others preferred conglutinates, is largely the motive of clearness.<sup>1</sup> A certain diminutive in *-ιον* would not be satisfactory if the same form existed as the neuter of an adjective, and the resulting obscurity was avoided by a conglutinate, as e. g. *πατρίδιον* 'dear father' instead of *πάτριον*, which was neuter of the adjective *πάτριος*. For other examples see § 310. Sometimes simple *-ιον* could not be attached to a word without causing either obscuring phonetic changes or abhorrent combinations of sounds. Thus *\*γάιον* would almost immediately become *\*γάϊον* and could not then be felt as a diminutive, whence *γάδιον*; *γραιϊον* would be a monstrosity and so *γραι-διον* was used instead. On the other hand, words in *-ατ-*, like *σῶμα*, usually took only a simple *-ιον* because diminutives like *σωμάτιον* were both perfectly clear and unobjectionable phonetically. From the fact, however, that the conglutinates were more serviceable and so preferred in many instances, one must not conclude that *-ιον* had its regime only in the very earliest period and was soon ousted by the longer suffixes. This may be true for the very latest periods, but in the Classical and Alexandrian epochs *-ιον* increased in frequency of use no less than the conglutinates. It was not the vast array of meanings which it carried with it in different words which was objectionable; for the speaker is only conscious of its use in one word at a time, and the complexity of its sphere of usage was largely shared by the conglutinates. Only when ambiguity arose in a particular word was there any reason for preferring a different suffix.

289. The meaning of the finished conglutinates can be of the utmost variety, almost as great as of simple *-ιον*, as can be seen from the classified lists under the individual suffixes. For, in the first place, the more widely used conglutinates have more than one pattern type, and the conditions may be different for each one. The process of conglutination was not patented by the diminutive, deteriorative, and hypocoristic meanings, but was applied to all other kinds of denominative words just as well. Thus *πολτ-άριον* 'porridge' was completely equivalent to *πόλτος* and never had diminutive meaning, and from it is made, with the idea of appurtenance, *πολταρί-διον* 'a vessel for holding porridge,' also not a 'diminutive,' and yet it ends in a double conglutinate of two members each, a combination which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 675 note 1.

according to the ordinary view would lead us to expect the utmost intensity of feeling. The meanings 'belonging to,' 'made of,' 'belonging to the category of,' 'like' the primitive, etc., are all represented in the different conglutinates. An exception is made by the words with verbal force, which have a nature so widely different from the denominatives as not to have been felt in any relation to the latter, as can be seen from the occurrence of such verbal abstracts, e. g. *ἀμάριον*, *ἐρείπιον*, and *σφάγιον*, even in the tragedians, who carefully avoided denominative *-ιον* words. There is, however, one word which seems to have crossed the border line, namely, *τὰ κρεκᾶδια* 'fine tapestry' in Aristophanes, which is probably derived directly from the verb *κρέκω* by means of the suffix *-αδιον*. This word probably followed certain adjectives in *-αδιος*, which were derived from adverbs in *-δον* (§ 321), and had verbal meaning, e. g. *ἀμοιβᾶδιος* 'exchanging,' i. e. 'alternate,' *ἐκτεᾶδιος* 'stretched out.' On the whole, the exocentric compounds in *-ιον* were also not felt as ending in the same suffix as other *-ιον* words, but aside from the solitary *ἐνωτάριον*, which is due to congeneric attraction (§ 286), there is one compound in *-αδιον* (§ 324. II) and quite a number in *-ιδιον* (§ 315. I), of which the oldest arose by substantivation from adjectives in *-ιδιος*, which were largely compounds from early times (§ 306 f.).

290. If the nature of the pattern types were the only factor to be considered in the spread of meanings of conglutinates, those groups which have only one pattern should have a homogeneous meaning, but in reality the influence of the pattern types is continually counteracted by the tendency to syncretism of the meaning of the suffixes. Thus, if *ἐλάφ-ιον* referred to small size, *θηρ-άριον* and all other words directly or indirectly patterned after *ἐλάφριον* would also be diminutives, were it not for the fact that since *-αριον* has here assumed the same function which *-ιον* has in other words, e. g. *ὀρνίθ-ιον* 'little bird,' a feeling of equivalence of the two suffixes resulted. Consequently *-αριον* could also be used in other meanings of *-ιον* than that found in the pattern type. This assimilation of meanings naturally takes place most easily between the diminutive, deteriorative, and hypocoristic meanings, but other functions can also be imparted to the conglutinate in this way. On the other hand, the pattern type will also have its influence, and there is a continual struggle between the two forces, the one tending to diversification of meaning, the other to keep it in narrow bounds, and the resulting aggregate of uses of a suffix is sometimes a compromise between the two forces, some-



times one or the other is victorious. Thus in case of *-ιδιον*, *-αριον*, and *-ισκιον* the fact that there were several pattern types paved the way for almost complete assimilation to *-ιον*, and similar is the late *-αδιον*. On the other hand, *-υλλιον* is in the Classical period found only in deteriorative and hypocoristic meaning, because its pattern *μειρακύλλιον* (§ 352) had those meanings. Later, however, we find the diminutive function in *ζωύλλιον* 'a little animal,' and perhaps the meaning 'made of' in *κεραμύλλιον* 'an (earthen-ware) jar.'<sup>1</sup> It has become an instrument suffix in *βαρύλλιον*: *βάρος*, an instrument for determining the weight of liquids. Similarly *-αφιον* and *-υφιον* refer to small size in the large majority of examples, but the same process of syncretism has caused a hypocoristic meaning in *δενδρύφιον* 'beautiful tree,' and in *ξυράφιον* 'razor' it appears as an instrumental suffix. The uses of *-υδριον* distinctly show a compromise between the two forces. Its origin is deteriorative, and this is its prevailing use in the Classical period, but from the beginning other meanings also occur, and in post-Classical times the deteriorative predilection is lost. Nevertheless assimilation of meanings to *-ιον* did not go beyond the diminutive and hypocoristic meanings, except in case of the obscure *σκιφύδριον* of Epicharmus, in which it seems to designate similarity (cf. § 328. I). In every case of semantic syncretism, after the sphere of usage demarcated by the original pattern type has once been exceeded, the way is paved for a more rapid extension of meaning, since the word with the new meaning will at once become a new pattern for other words.

291. When a certain suffix spreads because of semantic syncretism with another suffix, the feeling of equivalence of the two suffixes allows one to be directly substituted for the other in a certain existing word without reference to the primitive. Just as *-ιον* could take the place of *-ιδ-* in certain words whose meaning allowed them to take either suffix (§ 17), so any conglutinate in *-ιον* could take the place of simple *-ιον* in any word just as soon as a general feeling of equivalence had been developed. Thus when *λυχνιον* 'lampholder' became *λυχνιδιον* (without diminutive meaning), the *-ιδιον* was not added to the stem of the latter, but took the place of *-ιον* because the feeling of equivalence of the two suffixes allowed one to be substituted for the other even where *-ιον* was a suffix of appurtenance. Though we can not be sure in the individual example whether a given

<sup>1</sup> The passage where it occurs is insufficient to decide whether it designates any jar or only small ones and so is a diminutive.

word has received its suffix by substitution for an equivalent suffix or by being formed independently from the common primitive, yet there is always the possibility that one of two equivalent words differing only as to their suffix arose in this way. So perhaps were made *πυξιδιον* 'box-wood tablet' = *πυξιον*, *τυπίδιον* 'little image' = *τυπιον*, *χαιριδιον* 'little pigling' = *χαιριον*, *τεκνιδιον* 'dear child' = *τεκνιον*, *τεχνύδριον* 'wretched trade' = *τεχνιον*, *βιβλάριον* 'book' = *βιβλιον*, *δελτάριον* 'writing-tablet' = *δελτιον*, *φυκάριον* 'rouge' = *φυκιον*, *χιτωνάριον* 'woman's shift' = *χιτωνιον*, etc. This substitution of suffixes is most evident when there is no primitive without *-ιον* in existence, e. g. *ἱματιδιον* 'cloak' = *ἱματιον*, *βαλλαντιδιον* 'purse' = *βαλλαντιον*. When such words are equivalent from the beginning, the addition of one suffix to another is clearly out of the question except by congeneric attraction, and most of them arose by substitution of suffixes. The same thing can, of course, just as well occur between two different conglutinates of *-ιον* or any other two suffixes. Thus *νησιδιον* 'little island' = *νησιυδριον*, *ξενύλλιον* 'contemptible stranger' = *ξενύδριον*, *κυνιδιον* 'young dog' = *κυνάριον*, etc. Certain again are words of which there was no possible common primitive in existence, e. g. *προσκεφαλάδιον* 'pillow' = *προσκεφαλάκιον* (§ 318), and *χλάνδιον* 'mantle' = *χλανιδιον* (§ 315. VIII. B). In every case this process results in a pair of equivalent words, and consequently substitution of suffixes is out of the question in words like *λογάρια* 'contemptible words,' which can not have had anything to do with *λόγιον* 'oracle,' but must have been formed directly from *λόγος*. It is evident that this point of view complicates still more the question as to the precise motive of formation of many a word, and often makes a classification according to the psychic attitude an impossibility, so that in the list of uses of the individual suffixes a word has often been classified according to the original meaning of the *-ιον* whose place is taken by the conglutinate. Thus *βιβλάριον* is placed under the heading 'made of,' because the *-ιον* of *βιβλιον* originally had that meaning, although it had long since faded, and probably never entered into the meaning of *βιβλάριον*. Frequently, in fact, the creator of the word with the substituted suffix could not have had any definite attitude to it at all, and the vague feeling of general equivalence of the two formatives was sufficient to cause the unconscious substitution of one for the other without the slightest analysis of the word, and so without connecting any meaning with its suffix. In no other way could have arisen words like *χλάνδιον*,



which substituted -διον for the -ιδιον of *χλαινιδιον* although the -ιδ- belonged to the stem of the primitive.

292. Since the meanings of the different conglutinates were determined by the influence of the pattern types and of simple -ιον, the development of their uses did not take place within the conglutinates themselves, but they were thrust upon them ready-made. Consequently the important thing to investigate is merely the extent of their usage, while the different examples which should happen to be on the borderline between different meanings are usually of no significance and entirely accidental. It is this consideration which justifies my roughly dividing the material according to convenience into the larger semantic groups, without paying much attention to the transition types, which must as a matter of course exist anywhere in such a large body of interrelated meanings.

## XX. THE SUFFIX -(ι)διον (-ιδιον, -ουδιον, -ειδιον).

293. The suffixes -διον and -ιδιον will be treated as one because often difficult to distinguish formally, and because semantically identical. This does not, however, mean that -διον is to be ignored, or that it is even to be denied existence except as an illusion to our eyes which is due to the -ι- of -ιδιον coalescing with the root-vowel in words like *ιχθυιδιον* or *γραιοιδιον*. The form *χλαινιδιον* in inscriptions from Teos and Samos (Hoffmann Gr. Dial. 3. 106. 16, 169. 30) of the middle of the fourth century B. C. is sufficient evidence that -διον existed as a real suffix to the Greek mind as well as to our eyes, and that at a comparatively early date.

294. Among other words in -διον the most satisfactory is *βουδιον* : *βοῦς*, occurring already in old comedy (Hermipp. frg. 2. 393 (1)). This form is attested for Hermippus in Antiattic. AB. 85. 29, *βουδία*, *οὐ μόνον βοῖδία*. *Ἑρμιππος Κέρκωπι*. It is therefore a matter of indifference that Phrynichus (p. 86) condemns the form, and that Meineke reinstated *βοῖδία* for *βουδία* in Hermippus. The very mention of *βουδιον* by Phrynichus is another proof of its existence, and the objection of Meineke that it is without parallel, and that *βουδιον*, *φλούδιον*, and *μνούδιον*, which might be cited as such, are very late forms, is without bearing on the question; for *βουδιον* : *βοῖα* 'pomegranate' does not have an -ου- in the stem, but received it analogically (cf. *νανούδιον* : *νάνος*), while *φλούδιον* and *μνούδιον* come from contracted

primitives, *φλοῦς* < *φλόος*, and *μνούς* < *μνόος*. In these words the influence of those cases in which the product of contraction was not -ου-, or where -ου- appeared as belonging to the case ending (e. g. in *φλοῦ*), would make a formation with -ου- from the Nominative Singular much more difficult than if the diphthong was without doubt felt as the stem-final. Thus the stem *βου-* occurs in the Nom. Acc. Voc. Sing. and Dat. Acc. Plur., and there is no reason why a derivative *βουδιον* should not have been formed at the very earliest time. Meineke's search for analogies is altogether superfluous, because *βοῦς* is the only word which has an old stem in -ου-, and he might with as good a right have denied the existence of the Dat. Pl. *βουσί* because there is no other example of such a form ending in -ουσι. The other forms in -ουδιον, while thus not contradicting the early existence of *βουδιον*, are themselves good evidence that -διον existed as a distinct suffix in later times; for a contraction of *-ουιδιον* > *-ουδιον* is out of the question. Other words in -ουδιον from contracted primitives in -ου- are *πραγούδιον* : *πράγους*, and *νούδιον* : *νοῦς*. Cf. Phryn. 86, *Νοῖδιον καὶ βοῖδιον ἀρχαῖα καὶ δόκιμα, οὐχὶ νοῦδιον καὶ βοῦδιον*.

295. The suffix -διον is further attested by *κρεαδιον*, which usually has a short penult, so Ar. Plut. 227, frg. 2. 1185 (36); Alexis frg. 3. 416, 440 (5. 11), 466 (4). Cf. Janson, op. cit. 48. It is no objection to the analysis *κρεαδιον*<sup>1</sup> that the word also occurs with a long penult,<sup>2</sup> e. g. Alexis frg. 3. 396 (1. 5); for it is the latter which needs explanation. The primitive *κρέας* has short *ᾱ*, and *-ᾱ- + -ιδιον* would give *-ᾱιδιον*, not *-ᾱδιον*. When *-ᾱδιον* occurs it is probably due to the analogy of the varying quantity of the *υ* in *ιχθυιδιον* (§ 296).

296. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 194, also gives as an example of -διον *ιχθυιδιον* : *ιχθύς*, and similar are *βοτρυδιον* : *βότρυς*, and *ἐγγελλιδιον* : *ἐγγελλος*. The earlier scholars, however, who were bent on not admitting the existence of -διον except as a late vulgar error,<sup>3</sup> building upon the fact that these words usually have a long -υ- when their quantity is determinable with certainty,<sup>4</sup> declared that -ιδιον every-

<sup>1</sup> The *σ* of the stem *κρέας* was not felt as a part of the stem because it had disappeared by phonetic processes in most cases. The analogy of words like *χερμαδιον* : *χερμαῖς*, *-είδος*, must also have had its influence in the formation of *κρεαδιον*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meineke ad Men. 180, Var. Not. ad Ar. Plut. 227. Most of the passages for which *-ᾱδιον* is claimed are corrupt, e. g. Alexis frg. 3. 429 (1. 15), Men. frg. 4. 223 (1. 13).

<sup>3</sup> So e. g. Lobeck, ad Phryn. 83, in his discussion of *βοῖδιον*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Janson, op. cit. 57.



where was contracted from  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ .<sup>1</sup> Since the contraction of  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}$  before consonants is well authenticated,<sup>2</sup> this force must certainly be allowed as a probable factor, but to assume that every  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  comes from  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  is unnecessary and even impossible. On the one hand,  $\text{ἐχθρῆς}$ , the primitive of  $\text{ἐχθρῶδιον}$ , had a long  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}$  in the Nom. Acc. Voc. Sing., and these forms could have been used as the basis of derivation, and in the same way the adverb  $\text{βοτρυδόν}$  shows the existence of  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}$  in the stem  $\text{βοτρυ-}$ . Moreover, one derivative in  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  could have attracted the others by analogy, and in case of a long succession of short syllables the form with the  $\bar{\upsilon}$  was naturally preferred for the sake of the rhythm. And finally,  $\text{ἐχθρῶδιον}$ , with short  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}$ , occurs in dactylic poetry, where  $\text{ἐχθρῶδιον}$  would be less useful, e. g. Anth. P. 11. 405, Archestr. ap. Athen. 311 C. Leaving out of account certain passages in Comedy where  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}$  is possible, though not necessary, there is at least one Comic passage in which it is tolerably certain, namely Cratin. Jun. frg. 3. 379 (2), where some would change  $\text{καὶ ἐχθρῶδιον}$  to  $\text{καὶ ἐχθρῶδιον}$ ,<sup>3</sup> which would, however, be just as suspicious on account of the rare crasis as the manuscript reading because of the synizesis. It is, then, certain that  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  was also used to form derivatives from  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\text{-}$  stems, though it is usually impossible in the individual word to distinguish it from  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ . Other words ending in  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  are:  $\text{ἀφῶδιον} : \text{ἀφῶν}$ ,  $\text{βαρύδιον} : \text{βαρύς}$ ,  $\text{δακρύδιον} : \text{δάκρυ}$ ,  $\text{δικτύδιον} : \text{δίκτυον}$ ,  $\text{δορύδιον} : \text{δόρυ}$ ,  $\text{καρύδιον} : \text{κάρυον}$ ,  $\text{καχρύδιον} : \text{κάχρυς}$ ,  $\text{μῦδιον} : \text{μῦς}$ ,  $\text{ὀσφῦδιον} : \text{ὀσφύς}$ ,  $\text{ὀφρύδιον} : \text{ὀφρύς}$ ,  $\text{πελεκύδιον} : \text{πέλεκυς}$ ,  $\text{πίτυδιον} : \text{πίτυς}$ ,  $\text{σικύδιον} : \text{σικύα}$ ,  $\text{σμινύδιον} : \text{σμινύη}$ .

297. All other possible occurrences of  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  are more or less uncertain, and can not be distinguished from  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ . Thus the diphthongs  $\bar{\alpha}$  and  $\omega$  are pronounced and sometimes written  $\bar{\alpha}$  and  $\omega$  after the second century B. C.,<sup>4</sup> and this led to a complete confusion of  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  and  $\text{-}\bar{\upsilon}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  in words of which the basis of derivation ended thus, and only inscriptions which antedate this period could be of much service in establishing certain conclusions, though when the spelling of a certain word in the manuscripts is nearly uniform, it would point to a tradition which may be derived from earlier times. Thus the uniformity with which  $\text{ἐλάδιον}$  ( $: \text{ἐλάα}$ ) is spelled without  $\text{ι}$  subscript in the manuscripts, points to the suffix  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ , while  $\text{λαγῶδιον}$  ( $: \text{λαγῶς}$ ) is

<sup>1</sup> So Janson, l. c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Meineke ad loc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 54.

spelled with it, and must therefore have had  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ ;  $\text{κῶδιον}$  ( $: \text{κῶας}$ ) is without it in the manuscripts, and this would lead to the analysis  $\text{κῶ-διον}$ , but  $\text{κῶδιον}$ , i. e.  $\text{κῶ-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ , has inscriptional evidence from Halicarnassus (Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 641. 45, end of 3d cent. B. C.); and  $\text{καλῶδιον}$  ( $: \text{κᾶλως}$ ) occurs beside  $\text{καλῶδιον}$  in the manuscripts, but only the latter in inscriptions, and this would point to the suffix  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ . When the basis of derivation ends in  $\eta$  there is the same ambiguity; for already in the second century A. D., i. e. also before the date of our manuscripts, both  $\eta$  and  $\eta(\epsilon)$  were pronounced  $\text{ι}$ .<sup>1</sup> Since, however,  $\text{γῆδιον}$  ( $: \text{γῆ}$ ) is spelled without  $\text{ι}$  subscript in the large majority of instances, and since the dropping of the  $\text{ι}$  was by no means usual in all occurrences of that diphthong, we may conclude that  $\text{γῆδιον}$  had  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ . Less certain is  $\text{πηγῆδιον} : \text{πηγή}$  in Suidas.

298. The question further arises how far words in  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  which have a primitive in  $\text{-}\iota\text{-}$ ,  $\text{-}\omega\text{-}$ , or  $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}$  really have the suffix  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ . Thus is  $\text{κυμβῖδιον}$  ( $: \text{κύμβη}$ ,  $\text{κυμβίον}$ ) to be analyzed  $\text{κυμβ-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  or  $\text{κυμβί-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ ? As long as the existence of  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  was denied the question was comparatively simple.  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  was contracted to  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ , and consequently words in  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  could have primitives in  $\text{-}\iota\text{-}$ ,  $\text{-}\omega\text{-}$ ,  $\text{-}\bar{\alpha}\text{-}$  only when the antepenult was long. All words in  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  were therefore to be referred to primitives without an  $\text{ι}$  in the suffix, and conversely,  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  always presupposed such a primitive. When the facts would not fit in with the hypothesis, the text was suspected rather than theory. An extensive discussion of the question is found in Janson, op. cit. 52 ff. It is evident that if the distribution of  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  and  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  really is such as is claimed by him, no suffix  $\text{-}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  is to be recognized in these words; but in reality there are numerous exceptions to the rule in two ways. In the first place, there exist words in  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  from primitives without an  $\text{ι}$  in the suffix. Thus  $\text{Βοιωτίδιον}$  (Ar. Ach. 872) is a 'diminutive of  $\text{Βοιωτός}$ ,  $\text{δακτυλίδιον}$  (id. Lys. 417) refers to a toe, and so can not come from  $\text{δακτύλιος}$  'finger-ring,' but from  $\text{δάκτυλος}$  'finger,' 'toe.'  $\text{Ἐρμῖδιον}$  (Ar. Pax. 382, 924):  $\text{Ἐρμῆς}$  has been removed by some editors in the interests of the theory;  $\text{πορνίδιον}$ , while usually with  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$ , has  $\text{-}\bar{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\text{-}$  in Ar. Ran. 1301, and of course the text is suspected of being corrupt;  $\text{σκαλμίδιον}$  (Com. Anon. frg. 4. 696 [366]) comes from  $\text{σκαλμός}$ ;  $\text{τευθίδιον}$  (Ephipp. frg. 3. 334 [1. 4.]):  $\text{τευθίς}$  is declared by Meineke (ad loc.) to have gotten its  $\text{ι}$  from a primitive  $\text{τευθίς}$ , though admitting that the Attic always used the word with a short  $\bar{\iota}$ ;  $\text{τιτθίδιον}$  can be rescued by referring

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, op. cit. 29, 53.



it to *τιθίδιον* rather than to *τιθίδες*, although the addition of *-ιδιον* to a living 'diminutive' in *-ιον* is not otherwise known. On the other hand, the following words in *-ιδιον* come from primitives in *-ι-*, *-ιο-*, or *-ιζ-*: *κωβίδιον* (Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172): *κωβίδες*, suspected by Meineke; *λυχνίδιον* 'lamp-holder': *λυχνίον*, though usually with *-ίδιον*, has *-ιδιον* in Hermipp. frg. 2. 411,<sup>1</sup> suspected by Meineke; *Ξανθίδιον* (Ar. Ran. 582): *Ξανθίας*, which Janson wrongly declares to have *-ιδιον*, a measurement manifestly impossible, since *ὦ Ξανθίδιον* stands at the beginning of a trimeter; *ποτηρίδιον*: *ποτήριον*, in a corrupt verse of Menander frg. 4. 74 (4), where, however, the text seems beyond suspicion to the end of *ποτηρίδια*; *ὑπογαστρίδιον* (Eubul. frg. 3. 269 [16]; Philoxenus 2. 23): *ὑπογάστριον*. This list of exceptions is the more significant when we consider that many other words in *-ιδιον* can come from a primitive with an *ι* in the suffix, although they must not. Thus *ἀσκίδιον* can come from *ἀσκίον* as well as from *ἀσκάς*, *κροκωτίδιον* from *κροκώτιον* or *κροκωτός*, *λαρχίδιον* from *λάρκιον* or *λάρκος*, *μοσχίδιον* from *μοσχίον* or *μόσχος*, *παππίδιον* from *παππίας* or *πάππας*, *πυλίδιον* from *πυλίον* or *πύλος*, *χοιρίδιον* from *χοιρίον* or *χοῖρος*, *φυκτρίδιον* from *φυκτήριον* or *φυκτήρ*. On the other hand, words in *-ιδιον* which may have come from primitives with an *ι* in the suffix are not necessarily referred to them; *ἀργυρίδιον* can come from *ἀργυρος* as well as from *ἀργύριον*, *οἰκίδιον* from *οἶκος* or *οἰκία*.

299. It is evident, then, that the exposition of Janson is either not true or does not contain the whole truth. It is not impossible that a formation like *\*ἀργυρίδιον* occasionally did come into being, and it may even be conceded that certain people used it long enough to allow it to suffer contraction and thus to give it a chance to influence other words analogically; but that this should have been the regular method of formation is contradicted both by the failure of the facts to correspond to the distribution of *-ιδιον* and *-ίδιον* as claimed by Janson, and by the intrinsic improbability of the assumption that the Attic dialect, sensitive as it was to all kinds of hiatus, should have at any time regularly used formations in *-ιδιον* when there was at hand the suffix *-ιδιον* which would result in an unobjectionable *-ιδιον*.

<sup>1</sup> In the light of § 291, such examples have no value in this question; *λυχνίδιον* probably got its *-ιδιον* by substitution for *-ιον*, and thus need not be derived from *λυχνίον* by the addition of *(-ι)διον*. On the other hand, *λυχνίδιον* originated in the same way, and is no argument for *\*λυχνι-ιδιον*, since it is equivalent to *λυχνίον*, not a 'diminutive' of the latter.

300. A different cause for the length of the *ι* must then at least have assisted the contraction of *-ιδιον*, and more probably have been the chief cause. The hint is given by *πορνίδιον* (: *πόρνη*), which, though usually with short antepenult, has a long one in Ar. Ran. 1301, where *πορνίδιον* closes a trimeter and the *ι* has the verse-ictus, while otherwise it is in the thesis of a foot, e. g. in Ar. Nub. 997: *μήλω βληθείς ὑπὸ πορνίδιου*, at the beginning of an anapaestic tetrameter. An examination of all other cases of *-ιδιον* reveals the fact that *ι* is lengthened only when it receives the ictus, and the large majority of examples come at the end of the Iambic Trimeter, where a succession of three short syllables or an anapaestic succession could not occur: *ἀργυρίδιον* (Ar. Plut. 147, 240, frg. 2. 1164 (4); Eupol. frg. 2. 479 (42); Diph. frg. 4. 384), *Βοιωτίδιον* (Ar. Ach. 872), *Ἑρμίδιον* (Ar. Pax 382, 924), *ἱματίδιον* (Ar. Plut. 985), *καλιδίαις* (Eupol. frg. 2. 442 (5)), *λυχνίδιον* (Crates frg. 2. 234 (5)), *λυχνίδιον* (Ar. frg. 2. 949 (15), 1059 (5)), *οἰκίδιον* (Ar. Nub. 92), *σηπίδιον* (Ar. frg. 2. 1076 (3. 1)), *σηπίδια* (Ar. frg. 2. 1050 (9); Eubul. frg. 3. 268 (15a 6); Ehipp. frg. 3. 325 (2. 9), 334. (1. 4)), *σκαλμίδια* (Com. Anon. frg. 4. 696 (366)), *τευθίδια* (Eubul. frg. 3. 258 (1)), *τιθίδια* (Ar. frg. 2. 1084 (14)). In a different position or (once) in a different meter, but also with an ictus, are *ἀργυρίδιον* (Ar. Av. 1622, Lys. 1050, in a choral ode), *βιβλίδιου* (perhaps in Antiphan. ap. Poll. 7. 211, though it may as well have *-ιδιον*), *δακτυλίδιον* (Ar. Lys. 417), *δικαστηρίδιον* (Ar. Vesp. 803), *ἱματίδαις* (Ar. Lys. 470), *κωβίδια* (Sotad. frg. 3. 586 (22)), *οὔσιδιον* (Nicomach. frg. 4. 587 (1)), *σηπίδι* (Eubul. frg. 3. 258 (1)), *σηπίδια* (perhaps Alexis frg. 3. 455, though *-ιδιον* is also possible). The consensus of such a large number of passages without one exception proves conclusively that, whatever the origin of the long *ι* of *ιδιον* in its earliest patterns, there was a complete redistribution of *-ιδιον* and *ιδιον* according to rhythmical laws.

301. The bearing of all of this on the existence of the suffix *-ιδιον* is evident. If words in *-ιδιον* can come from primitives without *ι* in the final syllable of the suffix, no conclusion is allowed as to the origin of *-ιδιον* in words from primitives in *-ι-*, *-ιο-*, and *-ιζ-*; for the *ι* undoubtedly must have at least partially originated by the very same forces in the latter class as the former. Consequently any word in *-ιδιον* which has a primitive with an *ι* in the final suffix may have the suffix *-ιδιον*; *ἱματίδιον*: *ἱμάτιον* can be *ἱματί-διον* just as well as *πορνίδιον*: *πόρνη* is *πορν-ιδιον*. When, however, a word of this kind has *-ιδιον* the suffix *-ιδιον* is a certainty; *κωβίδιον* (: *κωβίδες*)



must be *κωβί-διον*, and similarly *Ξανθί-διον* (: *Ξανθίας*), *υπογαστρι-διον* (: *υπογαστριον*), etc. When a word in *-ιδιον* occurs only in prose, there is consequently no conclusion possible as to the quantity of the antepenult, and if it were, it would be immaterial because quantity need have nothing to do with the nature of the primitive. Consequently any of the following words in *-ιο-* (*-ιᾱ*) with indeterminable quantity may have been, and many doubtless were formed with the suffix *-διον*: *βαλαντιδιον*: *βαλάντιον*, *γυμνασιδιον*: *γυμνάσιον*, *γωνιδιον*: *γωνία*, *δακτυλιδιον* 'ring': *δακτύλιος*, *δεσμιδιον*: *δέσμιον* or *δεσμός*, *θηριδιον*: *θηρίον* or *θήρ*, *θρανιδιον*: *θρανίον* or *θράνος*, *κλιντηριδιον*: *κλιντήριον* or *κλιντήρ*, *κοιλιδιον*: *κοιλία*, *κορασιδιον*: *κοράσιον*, *κρανιδιον*: *κρανίον*, *κρατηριδιον*: *κρατήριον* or *κρατήρ*, *κρίδιον*: *κρίος*, *λουτηριδιον*: *λουτήριον* or *λουτήρ*, *μαχαιριδιον*: *μαχάριον* or *μάχαιρα*, *οψαριδιον*: *οψάριον*, *πινακιδιον*: *πινάκιον* or *πίναξ*, *πυξιδιον*: *πυξίον* or *πύξος*, *σκορπιδιον*: *σκορπίος*, *ταυνιδιον*: *ταυνία*, *υδριδιον*: *υδρία*, *χρυσιδιον*: *χρυσίον* or *χρυσός*, *χωριδιον*: *χωρίον* or *χώρος* or *χώρα*. Similarly from primitives in *-ι-*: *ἀπολυσιδιον*: *ἀπόλυσις*, *δεσμιδιον*: *δέσμις*, *ἐξιδιον*: *ἐξίς*, *λεξιιδιον*: *λέξις*, *ὀρχιδιον*: *ὀρχις*, *ὀφιδιον*: *ὄφις*, *πολιδιον*: *πόλις*, *ρήσιδιον*: *ῥήσις*.

•302. Altogether indistinguishable *-διον* and *-ιδιον* are when the basis of derivation ends in an *ι* diphthong. From *ζῶν* comes *ζῶδιον*, which may be either *ζῶ-διον* or originally *\*ζῶ-ιδιον*; *ἀγγειδιον*: *ἀγγεῖον* was either *ἀγγεῖ-διον* or *\*ἀγγει-ιδιον*. Similarly *γραμματειδιον*: *γραμματεῖον*, *θυσιδιον*: *θυσιά*, *σκαφειδιον*: *σκαφεῖον*, *ταμειδιον*: *ταμειά*. When, however, the primitive has a stem in *-ευ-* or *-ι-*, derivatives in *-ειδιον* are formed by means of *-ιδιον*. Thus *ἀμφορειδιον*: *ἀμφορεύς* is *ἀμφορε-ιδιον*, being formed upon the oblique cases,<sup>1</sup> e. g. Gen. Pl. *ἀμφορέων*; and *ἐξειδιον* is *ἐξε-ιδιον*, being formed from the oblique cases of *ἐξίς*, e. g. *ἐξεων*. Similarly *βασιλειδιον*: *βασιλεύς*, *κτησειδιον*: *κτησίς*, *λεξειδιον*: *λέξις*, *ὀρχειδιον*: *ὀρχις*, *ὀφειδιον*: *ὄφις*, *τάξειδιον*: *τάξις*. Probably the Sicilian *ῥοσειδιον* also belongs here, and came from a primitive *\*ῥοεύς*. To assume a conglutinate *-ειδιον* for this one word hardly seems necessary.

303. We may summarize our conclusions as to *-διον* as follows. That it was one of the oldest conglutinates of *-ιον* is shown by the *βού-διον* of Hermippus of the age of Pericles. Since it was more convenient than *-ιδιον* when the basis of derivation of the primitive ended in a vowel, it doubtless was used at least as much, if not more than the latter, under these circumstances, as is seen by quite

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schwabe, *opt. cit.* 67, who cites *Etym. Mag.* 347, 54 for the difference between *ἐξιδιον* and *ἐξειδιον*, *ib.* 560, 12 for *λεξιδιον* and *λεξειδιον*.

a number of words for which it is more probable than *-ιδιον*, and by very many words where it is possible. That *-διον* was not much in use after consonant stems is due to the unendurable combinations of sounds which would often have resulted. The form *γλάν-διον*, from inscriptions of the fourth century B. C., nevertheless shows that a beginning was made in this direction. In later times *-ιδιον* encroached upon *-διον*, as is shown e. g. by *καλώδιον*, but the latter also kept on existing, e. g. in words like *φλούδιον* and *μνούδιον*.

303. There are diverse possibilities of origin of the suffix *-διον*. In the first place it might come from adjectives in *-διος*, e. g. *ἀμφάδιος*, which were formed from adverbs like *ἀμφαδόν* (§ 321). These adjectives could then be referred directly to the root, and thus the appearance of an adjective suffix *-διος* was created, which was exactly equivalent to *-ιος*. The *δ* thus could take upon itself the function of an hiatus-avoiding device and be transferred to substantives in *-ιον*. Thus if some one wished to form an *-ιον* diminutive to *γῆ*, he would eagerly seize upon some device like the *δ* for avoiding the awkward *\*γῆιον*, which would scarcely be intelligible because of the difficulty with which kindred vowels are distinguished acoustically and in pronunciation. The objection to this view is the fact that *-διος* occurs in so very few adjectives, and that these have suffixal meanings so widely different from those of the extant *-διον* substantives that it is difficult to see by what lines of association the *δ* was transferred from one to the other.

304. For words in *-υδιον* the analogy of *γλαμύδ-ιον* (: *γλαμύς*, *-ύδος*) must undoubtedly have played a part, as is pointed out by Brugmann, *Gr.* 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 471. Since *-υ-* stems as well as *-υδ-* stems had a Nom. Sing. in *-υς*, proportional analogies like the following could arise: *γλαμύδ-ιον*: *γλαμύς* = *ἰγθύ-διον*: *ἰγθύς*. By a similar analogy could arise *-διον* in derivatives from *-ι-* stems: *ἀσπίδ-ιον*: *ἀσπίς* = *ἐγί-διον*: *ἐγίς*. Another stratum of words in *-διον* probably followed the model *παιδίον*. Since this was largely a hypocoristic word, it was much used in the Vocative case (§ 235), and was often brought into association with the Vocative of its primitive, particularly since it was a habit in calling the same person twice to use a hypocorism once, preceded or followed by the primitive. Cf. *Ar. Nub.* 132, *παῖ*, *παιδίον*; *id. Ran.* 37, *παιδίον*, *παῖ*. As a result of the association of *παιδίον* with *παῖ*, which had no *δ*, the suffix *-διον* was abstracted, and this spread most easily to other words with monosyllabic base, e. g. *βούδιον*, *γῆδιον*, *ζῶδιον*, *κώδιον*. Against the as-



sumption that these latter words were influenced by παιδίον the difference of accentuation can not be used as argument; for they may very well have been accented on the penult when first formed. But since -ιδιον and -διον could not be distinguished in so many words, and the former always accented the antepenult, it was natural that words in -διον should follow, while παιδίον retained its accent because it was not always, but only occasionally associated with the Vocative παιῖ, and otherwise with the real stem παιδ-. After the suffix -ιδιον had thus gained existence in derivatives from monosyllabic bases as well as in -υ- and -ι- stems, it was comparatively easy to extend it to other formations also, e. g. the -ιο- and -ιῶ- stems followed the -ι- stems, etc.

305. The suffix -ιδιον, as far as it came in contact with -διον, has been treated in the preceding paragraphs. With this exception an exposition of its formal history is unnecessary, because it has been done by Schwabe (op. cit. 65 ff.) and Janson (op. cit. 46 ff.). It remains to discuss its origin, and to determine, if possible, the cause of its spread. As to the age of -ιδιον, it appears already in Epicharmus to denote similarity in ἱππιδιον, and so is one of the oldest -ιον conglutinates.

306. The first possibility of the origin of -ιδιον is from the old adjectives in -ιδιο-, which are already Homeric, and are more or less productive in the whole Classical period. They can not, however, account for the whole mass of words in -ιδιον; for they do not keep pace with the development of the -ιο- adjectives so as to allow substantivation with as great a variety of meanings as simple -ιο-, but -ιδιο- is on the whole confined to certain kinds of adjectives. The largest group is composed of words designating an object as being in a certain place,<sup>1</sup> and of these the compounds are the most frequent. So ἐγχειρίδιος 'in the hand,' ἐπιθαλασσιδιος 'at the sea,' ἐπιγουνιδιος 'upon the knees,' ἐπιτυμβιδιος 'over a tomb,' ἐπιφατνιδιος 'at the manger,' παραθαλασσιδιος 'beside the sea,' προστερνιδιος 'in front of the breast,' ὑπερθαλασσιδιος 'above the sea' (of coast-land). Among simple words: ἐντοσθιδιος 'in the inside,' μεσιδιος 'in the middle,' νοσφιδιος 'removed,' 'secret,' ὀπισθιδιος 'in the rear.' The large number of the words of this kind point to an origin from a Locative Dative or local adverb, and so ἐγχειρίδιος, probably the pattern type of the compounds, is to be analyzed ἐγ-χειρί-διος, the δ being the same as in adjectives like ἀμφάδιος (§ 321). Similarly νοσφί-διος: νόσφι 'aside,'<sup>2</sup> ἐνδοθιδιος: ἐνδοθι 'inside.' To the related

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pape, Etym. Wörterb. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, IF. 16. 494.

idea of time -ιδιο- spread from words like αἰ-διος<sup>1</sup> 'everlasting' (: αἰ). The ι as a part of the suffix in αἰων-ιδιος 'sudden,' παυρ-ιδιος in παυρ-ιδιον χρόνον 'for a short time.' Moreover, since words like ἐγχειρίδιος were compounds, the suffix spread to other compounds which did not designate a locality, e. g. ἐξαρχιδιος 'coming from the ἀρχή' (Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 514. 3), ὑποπετρίδιος 'winged' (Alem. Parthen. 49), ὑποχλινίδια 'lower parts of the bridle.' Then again, some of the compounds designating position could pass to the meaning 'coming from' (cf. § 92), and ἐξαρχιδιος had that meaning from the beginning. This meaning then spread to words like μοιχιδιος 'born from adultery,' θνησειδιος 'coming from a dead body.' There remains the obscure κουριδιος<sup>2</sup> in Homeric phrases like κουριδίη ἄλγος. Perhaps -ιδιο- here originally meant 'belonging to the category of,' and the phrase was equivalent to 'my girl (i. e. young) wife,' as a term of endearment, but became used so frequently that it became a compound, and the adjective was then practically meaningless.

307. Quite a number of words in -ιδιον are substantivations from these adjectives, or were formed analogically to others that were so substantivized, e. g. ἐγ-χειρίδιον 'a dagger': ἐγ-χειρίδιος 'in the hand,' προστερνιδιον 'a covering for the breast,' 'that which is over the breast.' Other compounds of this kind are given § 315. I. Among simple words perhaps the dialectic κοριδιον 'maiden' was substantivized from the adjective κοριδιος, which must then have retained its original idea of appurtenance to a category at the time and in the dialect where κοριδιον first arose. The word may, however, also be a faded diminutive or hypocorism.

308. A second group of words in -ιδιον probably came from words in which -διον was preceded by an ι as the basis of derivation of the primitive. From the list of words given § 301 those are most favorable for the production of a suffix -ιδιον, which have a primitive in -ιο- -ιῶ- alongside of which there was in existence a simpler word with the same meaning, but not with the ι suffix. Thus the fact that χώρα and χώρος existed alongside of χωρίον could cause χωρί-διον, which came from the latter, to be reanalyzed χωρ-ιδιον and so referred to χώρα or χώρος. Other possibilities of this kind are: κυμ-βίον or κύμβη, θηριδιον: θηρίον or θήρ, θρανιδιον: θρανίον or θράνος, κλιντηριδιον: κλιντήριον or κλιντήρ, πινακιδιον: πινάκιον or πινάξ, πυξιδιον: πυξίον or πύξος, χρυσιδιον: χρυσίον or χρυσός.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, IF. 16. 494.

<sup>2</sup> For other interpretations cf. Ebeling, Lex. Hom. sub κουριδιος.



309. The third and probably the most important source of *-ιδιον* is from nouns in *-ις*, *-ιδος*. The conglutinate could be transferred directly from one congeneric word to another, e. g. *ἀσπίδ-ιον* 'little shield' could give rise to *ξίφ-ιδιον* 'little sword,' even though no conglutinate *-ιδιον* existed before this (§ 286). The most potent influence in its separation, however, must have been the existence of equivalent words in *-ιδ-*, which were the primitives, and without it, to which the words in *-ιδιον* could be referred. This happened most frequently with *-ιδ-* and *-ᾱ-*, since *-ῖδ-* had taken the place of I. E. *-ī-* as a feminine formative,<sup>1</sup> and this led to the existence of diverse words in *-ις* and *-ᾱ* with virtually the same meaning, e. g. among names of women: *θεραπαινίς* and *θεράπαινα*, *ἐταιρίς* and *ἐταίρα*, *παλλακίς* and *παλλακή*. The same thing in case of names of animals or things: *κλινίς* and *κλίνη*, *κρηνίς* and *κρήνη*, *μαινίς* and *μαίνη*, *σκαφίς* and *σκάφη* ('boat'), *χυτρίς* and *χύτρα*. Cf. also *φυκίς* = *φύκη-ς*, *κληματίς* = *κλήμα* (τ stem). A derivative from a word with the *-ιδ-* suffix could easily be referred to the by-form without it, e. g. *χυτρίδιον* to *χύτρα* instead of *χυτρίς*, which would then serve as pattern for new formations in *-ιδιον*. Very rarely *-ιδιον* seems to be composed of diminutive *-ιδ-* + diminutive *-ιον* (§ 282), though it is not impossible that e. g. *νησιδιον* 'little island' was formed by means of the suffix *-ιδιον* directly from *νήσος*, with no thought of the existing diminutive *νησίς*.

310. While the spread of the conglutinate *-ιδιον* was largely due to the fact that the initial *δ* of this suffix avoided hiatus with a vocalic final of the basis of derivation (cf. § 288), in contrast to *-ιον*, which was unserviceable in such a position, *-ιδιον* was no better than *-ιον* in this respect. Its advantage, however, was the opportunity afforded for forming a diminutive or deteriorative suffix for a word of which the *-ιον* derivative was preempted by other meanings. Thus, besides *πατρίδιον*, which was mentioned above (§ 288), such a word is *ξίφιδιον* 'little sword,' instead of *ξίφιον*, which was a plant name ('gladiola'), and so would not be readily understood as a diminutive. Similar *γαστρίδιον* 'a little belly' owes its *-ιδιον* to the fact that *γαστήριον* designated a kind of sausage; *γλαυκίδιον*, diminutive of *γλαῦκος* (a fish) has *-ιδιον* because *γλαύκιον* is the juice of a certain plant, and *γλαυκίον* (with different accent) a certain gray-eyed water bird, but can not refer to the fish; *λογίδιον* 'oratiuncula' because

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 182.

*λόγιον* is 'an oracle.' It must not, however, be supposed that *-ιδιον* was exclusively used for forming real 'diminutives.' The reverse, namely, that *-ιδιον* is used to express a non-diminutive idea because the *-ιον* word is a diminutive, occurs in *κεφαλίδιον* 'a covering for the head,' while *κεφάλιον* is 'a little head.'

311. Whether other vowels than *ι* and *α* (§ 316 ff.) coalesced with *-ιδιον* into a single conglutinate, is hard to decide. There are apparent examples of a suffix *-υδιον*, but all of a more or less doubtful nature. Cf. Lobeck, Proll. 401. Of these *τοκαρύδιον* is certainly corrupt; for it occurs only in Stephanus alongside of *τοκαρίδιον*, which is clearly the only possible *-ιδιον* diminutive of *τοκάριον*. A substitution of *υ* for *ι* when the latter is a part of the primitive stem is not to be expected, except after both letters were pronounced alike. *ἐλκρύδιον* (Plut. 2. 300 A) (: *ἔλκος*) looks suspiciously like the common *ἐλκρύδιον*, and is probably also corrupt. *δενδρύδιον* (Gloss.): *δένδρον*, if authentic, is probably dissimilated from *δενδρ-ύδιον* by loss of one of the two *r* sounds in the repeated group *-δρ-* (§ 329), or the *υ* may belong to the stem: *δενδρύδιον* (cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 12. 387). And finally, *βαρύδιον* (Hero Spir. 197. 2): *βάρος* is most probably influenced by the adjective *βαρύς* or formed from it in the beginning.

312. A conglutinate *-ουδιον* seems to occur in the late *νανούδιον* (Schol. Clem. Alex. 271): *νᾶνος* 'dwarf.' None of the words in *-ουδιον* (§ 294) with an *ου* belonging to the stem seem to be sufficiently related to have caused an analogical exchange of endings.

313. Apparent cases of further conglutinations of other suffixes with *-(ι)διον* are usually due to the fact that the so-called diminutive suffix of the first part has really a different use or at least does not have living diminutive force. So *κορασίδιον* apparently has *-ασι-διον*, but it really is a simple 'diminutive' to *κοράσιον*, which usually is completely equivalent to *κόρη*. Similar and more frequent is *-αριδιον*, e. g. in *βιβλαρίδιον*: *βιβλάριον*, which is not a diminutive, and *ὀψαρίδιον*, which is a diminutive to the faded 'diminutive' *ὀψάριον*. In *πολταρίδιον*, on the other hand, *-ιδιον* means 'belonging to' and *-αρι-* again belongs to the non-diminutive *πολτάριον*. Due to real intensive accumulation of suffixes are probably *λιθαρίδιον*, *λογαρίδιον*, *χλανισκίδιον*, and *Ἀφροδιταρίδιον*. *-ακ-ιδιον* occurs in the hypocorism *Δημακίδιον*, which is a humorous formation, and took its *-ακ-* from 'Koseformen' like *Γύλαξ*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fick-Bechtel, Die Griech. Personennamen 27.



314. It remains to give a survey of the different uses in which -(ι)δίων occurs. It is of importance particularly for -ιδίων that its origin is of an extremely heterogeneous kind, that it has all sorts of pattern types, and that in a large group of words it is from the beginning the neuter of adjectives in -ιδιος-, particularly in compounds. Since the latter have connections with simple words on every hand, it is only natural that the gap between their meaning and that of those words in which the function of the suffix is no longer associated with adjectival origin should be filled out. Consequently -ιδίων occurs in more different uses than any other -ιον conglutinate, and closely approaches the complexity of the use of simple -ιον. Like -αριον (§ 362), however, it does not occur in abstract or verbal formations.

315. *Collection of Examples.* The same classification as for simple -ιον is usually followed, though I have not hesitated to depart from it for the sake of convenience.

I. *Compounds.* ἐγ-κλαστρο-ίδια, a sort of ear-rings. Poll. 5. 97. ἐγ-χειρί-διον 'that which is in the hand,' 'a hand-knife,' 'dagger.' Herod. 1. 12, 214; Hermipp. frg. 2. 395 (1. 5). ἐν-ώδιον<sup>1</sup> 'that which is in the ears,' 'ear-ring.' CIA. 2. 652 B 10 (398 B. C.). ἐν-ωτ-ίδιον = the above. Insc. Delos BCH. 6. 125. ἐπι-ταινί-διον 'that which is upon a fillet.' Insc. Delos Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 588. 188 (ab. 180 B. C.). παρα-γναθ-ίδιον 'that which is over the jaw,' 'cheek-piece.' Schol. Δ 142. παρα-ζων-ίδιον 'that which is at the girdle,' 'a dagger.' Posidon. ap. Athen. 176 B. παρα-μηρ-ίδιον 'that which is along the thighs,' 'thigh-armor.' Xen. An. 1. 8. 6. παρα-πλευρ-ίδιον, cover 'over the sides' of war horses. Xen. Cyr. 6. 4. 1. παρ-οπλ-ίδιον 'μικρὰ μάχικα Hes. περι-δεῖρ-ίδιον, that which is around the neck,' 'necklace.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 42 (279 B. C.). περι-τραχήλ-ίδιον = preceding. Pap. Magdol. ap. Melanges Nicole 282. 5. προ-μετωπ-ίδιον 'that which is in front of the forehead,' 'the skin of the forehead' in Herod. 6. 70, 'frontlet' in Xen. An. 1. 8. 7 (Pl.). προ-στερν-ίδιον 'that which is in front of the breast,' a covering for the breast of horses. Xen. An. 1. 8. 7, Equ. 12. 8. προ-στηθ-ίδιον 'that which is in front of the breast,' an ornament for the breast. Polyb. 22. 20. 6. προ-χειλ-ίδιον, the projecting part of the lip. Poll.

<sup>1</sup> Just how this form is related to ἐνωτίδιον is doubtful. Perhaps we may assume that ἐνώτιον and ἐνωτίδιον were contaminated to ἐνώδιον, and that this form received an iota subscript by the influence of the suffix -ιδίων in words like καλώδιον.

2. 90. ὑπερ-ώ-διον = ὑπερῶν.<sup>1</sup> Insc. Delos BCH. 6. 63. ὑπο-κρητήρ-ίδιον 'that which is under the mixing-bowl,' its stand. Not a diminutive, as is shown by Herod. 1. 25, ἀνέθηκε . . . κρητήρ τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητήριδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν. ὑπο-κρουν-ίδια· θυσία τις παρὰ Κνιδίους Hes. Closely related to these compounds, but really belonging to II., are substantivations from simple adjectives denoting position, e. g. τὰ ἐνδοσθίδια sc. τοῦ χοίρου, 'the interior parts of a pig,' Athen. 381 B.

II. 'Belonging to' or 'connected with.' ἀπολυσίδιον: ἀπόλυσις, a certain vessel or measure. FGH. 133. 14 (343-344 A. D.), ἐπεμψα δέ σοι καὶ ἀπολυσίδιον οἴνου. βαρύδιον: βάρος, βαρύς, 'that which has to do with weight,' 'a weight.' Hero Spir. 197. 2. τὰ Ἐρωτίδια<sup>2</sup> 'festival of Ἐρως.' Athen. 561 E. τὰ Θεραπν[ατ]ίδια 'festival of Θεράπνη.' Hes. Θερίδιον: Θέρως, 'domicilium aestivum.' Juliani epist. 46 C. κεφαλίδιον: κεφαλή, 'a covering for the head' (cf. Lat. capitulum). Isid. Orig. 19. 31. 3; Poll. 2. 42. κρεάδιον: κρέας, a pot which contains meat. Ar. Plut. 227. Cf. Schol. ad l., κρεάδιον τὴν χύτραν λέγει ἐν ᾗ τὰ κρέα ἔδονται. λυχνίδιον: λυχνίον, λύχνος, 'that which belongs to the lamp,' 'lamp-holder.'<sup>3</sup> Ar. and Crates ap. Poll. 10. 118 f., Hermipp. frg. 2. 411 (3). μετεωρίδιον: τὰ μετέωρα, 'that which has to do with things aloft,' 'a horoscope' according to Grenfell and Hunt, Pap. Oxyr. 117, in a letter of the second or third cent. A. D., τὸ ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ μετεωρίδιον. πολταρίδιον: πολτάριον, a jar for cooking porridge. Galen. vol. 14. p. 422. 6, 469. 17, τὸ πολταρίδιον ἐν ᾧ ἔψαις τὸ ἰδύοσμον. προσωπίδιον: πρόσωπον (cf. προσωπίς), 'that which belongs to the face,' 'a mask.' Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 127. ταμειίδιον: ταμεία, 'that which is connected with the office of pay-master,' 'the treasury.' Suid. χειρίδιον: χεῖρ (cf. χειρίς), 'that which belongs to the hand,' 'a glove' for rubbing the body. Antyll. ap. Oribas. 1. 494. 10.

Particularly noteworthy are several indefinite plurals in -ιδια (cf. § 87 ff.). τὰ ἀρχίδια: ἀρχή, 'the parts belonging to the foundation,' i. e. the foundation. See Herwerden, Lex. Suppl. s. v., who cites a late inscription from Africa. καλίδια· ἔντερα. Κύπριοι Hes. The word is related to κόλον, the meaning being 'the regions of or parts belonging

<sup>1</sup> If the -ω- is merely a suffix, the word, of course, does not belong here. Cf. Prellwitz<sup>2</sup> s. v. ὑπερῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel unnecessarily emends to Ἐρωτίδεια.

<sup>3</sup> Not a diminutive to λυχνίον. Cf. Ar. l. c., Ἄλλ' ὥσπερ λύχνος ὁμοιότατα καθήκον ἐπὶ τοῦ λυχνιδίου.



to the intestines.' τὰ πυγίδια: πυγή, 'the region of the buttocks.' Ar. Ach. 638, ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε. The plural is equivalent to that of the primitive in Ar. Equ. 1368, Πολλοὶς γ' ὑπολίσποις πυγιδίοισιν ἐχαρίσω. τὰ στοῖδια: στοά, 'the parts belonging to the colonnade.' Strab. 396, τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τὰ μὲν στοῖδια ἔχει πίνακας θαυμαστούς. The derivative has become completely equivalent to the primitive in the form στοῖδιον, Diog. Laert. 5. 51.

III. *Instrument nouns and names of tools which are equivalent to their primitives* (§ 73). γραφεῖδιον = γραφεῖον, 'pencil.' Suid.; Etym. Mag. 240. 16. δικτιδίον = δίκτυον, 'net.' Poll. 7. 179. θρανίδιον = θρανίον: θράνος, 'bench,' 'stool' (cf. σχολύθριον). Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 47; Etym. Mag. 454. 13. ἱματίδιον = ἱμάτιον, 'cloak' etc. Ar. Lys. 401, 470, Plut. 985; Lys. ap. Poll. 7. 42. κλινίδιον = κλίνη, κλινίς, 'couch.' Ar. Lys. 916. κλιντηρίδιον = κλιντήριον, κλιντήρ, 'couch.' Phot. Lex. 171. 12. ξιγίδιον = ξίφος, 'sword.' Ar. Lys. 53, otherwise diminutive. ξυστηρίδιον = ξυστήρ, 'scraper.' Phryn. AB. 51. ὀξυλαβίδιον = ὀξυλάβη, a kind of tongs, among the surgical instruments of Cod. Laur. 74. 2 ap. Herm. 38. 282. πελεκυδίον perhaps = πέλεκυς, 'ax.' Only in Schneider, and so perhaps diminutive. σκαλμίδιον = σκαλμός, the pin in which the Greek oar was fastened. Com. Anon. frg. 4. 696 (366). σκαγεῖδιον = σκαφεῖον, 'a digging-tool.' Herodian Epim. 239. σμινυδίον = σμινύη, 'a two-pronged hoe or mattock.' Ar. ap. Poll. 7. 148.

IV. *'Coming-from.'* θνησειδίον as if: θνήσις 'death,' 'that which comes from a dead body,' the skin of a beast that died. Philostr. 333, ἐσθλήματα . . . ἐκ θνησειδίων. καχυρίδιον: κάχυς, 'that which comes from the barley corn,' its husk. Arist. Probl. 20. 8. 923 b 11, 13. λιβαρίδιον: λίβανος, 'that which comes from the frankincense tree,' 'frankincense.' A conjecture of Bentley for ἴδιον, Men. frg. 4. 145 (1). ταραντινίδιον 'that which comes from Tarentum,' a kind of fine garment. Poll. 7. 76; Luc. D. Mer. 7. 2. φοινιζίδιον: φοῖνιξ, 'that which comes from the palm,' 'a palm-leaf.' Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 200, κόσμος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ φοινικιδίου.

To these words may be added a few others designating the young of animals, which are, however, at least with equal probability diminutives in origin (§ 95). ἐχίδιον: ἔχης, 'a young viper.' Arist. H. A. 5. 34. 558 a 29. ἰχθυίδιον: ἰχθύς, 'a young fish.' Arist. H. A. 6. 14. 568 b 10, 20. κυνίδιον: κύων, 'a young dog.' Plato Euthyd. 298 D: Arist. Probl. 10. 12. 892 a 11. σπητίδιον: σπηία, 'a young cuttle-fish.' Arist. H. A. 5. 18. 550 a 16.

V. *'Made of,' 'consisting of.'* ἀργυρίδιον: ἀργύριον, ἄργυρος, 'a silver vessel.' Diph. frg. 4. 384 (3).<sup>1</sup> βιβλαρίδιον = βιβλάριον = βιβλίον: βιβλος, 'book' (§ 101 C). Apocalyps. 10. 2. βιβλίδιον = βιβλίον: βιβλος, 'book.' Antiphan. ap. Poll. 7. 211, βιβλίδιον κέλλιμα. Insc. Rom. IGSL. 1072, ἐπὶ βιβλειδίῳ[ν]. δερρίδιον: σκιάδειον δερμάτινον, Suid. ἐλάδιον: ἐλάα, 'that which is made of the olive,' 'olive oil.' Sotad. frg. 3. 585 (1. 7), 586 (27); Archedic. frg. 4. 436 (1. 11). κριθίδιον: κριθή, 'a decoction of barley.' Hipp. 580. πιλίδιον = πιλίον: πῖλος, 'a felt cap.' Plato Resp. 3. 406 D (otherwise deteriorative or diminutive). πινακίδιον = πινάκιον, πινάξ: πινάξ, 'a (board) tablet.' Arist. Mirab. 57. 834 b 12; CIA. 2. 766. 6. πυξίδιον = πυξίον: πυξος, 'a boxwood tablet.' Ar. ap. Poll. 4. 18; Insc. Delph. CB. 2275. 17 (150-140 B. C.).

VI. *Words designating an indeterminate mass*, by analogy to the preceding group, among which cf. ἐλάδιον and κριθίδιον. μυρίδιον = μύρον, 'ointment.' Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 119. ὄξειδιον = ὄξος (-εσ- stem), 'vinegar.' Suid. sub. ὄξει: Pap. Berol. 417. 31.

VII. *'Generalizing'* (§ 114 ff.). τὰ βοῖδια: βοῦς, the members of the cattle tribe.' Plato Euthydem. 298 D, see § 366. V sub κυνάρια. ἰχθυίδιον: ἰχθύς, 'a kind of fish' etc. Theopomp. frg. 2. 812, τὰ πετραῖα τῶν ἰχθυιδίων. Xenarch. frg. 3. 622, Εἴτ' ἄλλοις ὧν ἄκρος σοφίαν ἔν παγούροις μὲν θεοῖς ἐχθροῖσι καὶ ἰχθυοῖς εὖρεκα παντοδαπὰς τέχνας. Arist. Mirab. 71. 835 b 5, ἐν Ἰνδοῖς . . . ἰχθυοῖα φασὶ γίνεσθαι ἃ ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ πλανᾶται καὶ πάλιν ἀποτρέχεται εἰς τὸν ποταμόν. id. H. A. 9. 37. 622 a 2, θηρεύει . . . οὐ μόνον τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἰχθυιδίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κροστέας πολλάκις. καλωδίον (καλώδιον) 'anything in the nature of a rope': κάλως 'funis nauticus' (cf. § 117). Primitive and derivative are equally applicable to the nautic cables designated by the latter in CIA. 2. 807 a 63, 75, 142, 159 (330 B. C.); ib. 2. 812 a 3-4 (ab. 323 B. C.); Poll. 1. 93. The derivative alone could be used in the remaining examples: Ar. Vesp. 379, Ἄλλ' ἐξάψας διὰ τῆς θυρίδος τὸ καλωδίον εἶτα καθίμα Δήσας σκυτόν. Eupol. frg. 2. 555 (18), Σὺ δὲ τα καλώδια Ταῦθ' ἀρκυώρει. Thuc. 4. 26. 8, ἐσέμεον δὲ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα κολυμβηταὶ ὑφουδρῶν, καλωδίῳ ἐν ἀγκούς ἐφέλκοντες μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην. Arist. Mech. 18. 853 a 34. τὰ κυνίδια: κύων, probably 'the members of the dog tribe' in Xen. Oec. 13. 8, though it might be taken as a deteriorative: καὶ τὰ κυνίδια δὲ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα ὁμῶς καὶ περιτρέχειν καὶ κυβιστᾶν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> The passage implies contempt (see § 166 sub ἐκπωμάτιον), and this may have been associated with -ιδιον in addition to the material idea.



μανθάνει. *μαχαιρίδιον*: *μαχάριον*, *μάχαιρα*. Luc. Pisc. 45, *μαχαιρίδιον* *θυτικόν* 'the sort of dagger used for sacrifice.' *πτινίδιον*: *πτύον*, 'a short of winnowing shovel,' perhaps with the implication 'not a real one.' Schol. Ar. Av. 1250, *ὁ δὲ ὑπογωνεύς, ὥς τινες, σιδηροῦν τι οἷον πτινίδιον, ᾧ χρῶνται οἱ κονιαταί.* *τὰ χοιρίδια*: *χοῖρος*, 'the members of the pig tribe.' Plato Euthydem. 298 D, see § 366. V sub. *κυνάριον*.

VIII. Words which are equivalent to their primitives, including those originally 'specializing' (§ 122) (excluding those of III and VI).

A. Vases, vessels, boxes, etc. *ἀγγεῖδιον* = *ἀγγεῖον*, 'a vessel,' 'jar.' Poll. 10. 30. *ἀμφορεῖδιον* = *ἀμφορεύς*. Ar. Pax. 202, Eccl. 1119, *τὰ Θάσι' ἀμφορεῖδια.* *θουρίδιον*, *θυρίδιον* = *θυρεά*, 'mortar.' Hes., *θουρίδια*. *ἰγδίον*. Kύπριον. Ar. Plut. 710, *λίθινον θουρίδιον Παρέθηκε καὶ δοῖδουκα καὶ κιβώτιον.* *λεκανίδιον* = *λεκάνιον*, *λεκάνη*, 'dish,' 'pan.' Poll. 10. 84. *κοιτίδιον* = *κοιτίς*, *κοίτη*, 'box,' 'casket.' Schol. Luc. Gall. 21. *λουτηρίδιον* = *λουτήριον*, 'wash-tub.' Schol. Luc. Lex. 3, *ἀγγεῖον τι λουτηρίδιον* *δοικὸς πλήρες ὕδατος ἐτίθετο, ὅξυβάφον κενῶν ἐπιπλεόντων, ἀπερ ἦν καταδύειν ταῖς . . . λάτταξιν.* *οἰνοχοῖδιον* = *οἰνοχόος*, 'can for ladling wine.' CIA. 2. 778 C 11 (350-300 B. C.). *ποτηρίδιον* = *ποτήριον*, 'drinking-cup.' Men. frg. 4. 74 (4); CIA. 2. 836 c-k 86 (270-262 B. C.). *προχοῖδιον* (*προκοῖδιον* CIA. 2. 778 C 11) = *πρόχους*, 'a jug for pouring.' Cratin. frg. 2. 127 (16); Stratt. frg. 2. 771 (1); Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 18. *προχοῖδιον* = *πρόχους* = *πρόχους*. Etym. Mag. 563. 39. *σπονδοχοῖδιον* (cf. *οἰνοχοῖδιον*) 'a vessel for pouring libations.' Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 206. *ἰδριδίον* = *ἰδρία*, 'a water pot.' CIA. 4. 700 B. 31, 36. *χοῖδιον* (Insc. Delos BCH. 1882 p. 117) is probably an abbreviation of some word like *προχοῖδιον*. Cf. *βάφον* (Hes. s. v.) for *ὅξυβάφον*. *χυτρίδιον* = *χυτρίς*, *χύτρα*. Ar. Ach. 1175.

B. Articles of dress and ornament. *ἀμφιδείδιον* = *ἀμφιδέα* 'bracelet.' CIA. 2. 698 II 25 (350 B. C.). *κροκωτίδιον* = *κροκώτιον*, *κροκωτός*, 'a saffron-colored frock.' Ar. Eccl. 332, Lys. 47. *χλάνδιον* = *χλανίδιον*, *χλάνης*, 'mantle.' The feeling of equivalence for -*διον* and -*ιδιον* caused the former to take the place of the latter in *χλανίδιον* even though there is no \**χλανη* to which *χλαν-ιδιον* could be referred, and *χλάνδιον* is thus without direct primitive. Insc. Teos ap. Hoffmann Gr. Dial. 3. 106. 16 (370-350 B. C.); Insc. Samos ib. 169. 30 (346-345 B. C.).

C. Miscellaneous (mostly by congeneric attraction). *βαλαντίδιον* = *βαλ(λ)άντιον* 'purse.' The general feeling of equivalence of -*διον* and

-*ιδιον* caused the latter to take the place of the former even though no definite meaning could have been connected with it in *βαλλάντιον*, which is without known primitive. Eupol. ap. Poll. 10. 151. *γραμμαιεῖδιον* = *γραμματεῖον*, 'tablet' (cf. *βιβλίδιον*, *πινακίδιον*, and *πυξίδιον* sub V). Men. frg. 4. 166 (7). *κορίδιον*: *κόρη*, 'maiden,' 'girl.' Condemned as *εὐτελής* by Phrynichus 73, but frequently used in inscriptions from Delphi. That it is probably 'specializing,' i. e. adjectival, in origin can be seen from collocations like *σῶμα γυναικεῖον κορίδιον* (CB. 1699. 5), though it is not impossible that this is due to the analogy of *σῶμα κοράσιον* (§ 377), which is certainly an adjectival phrase. In this case *κορίδιον* would have to be explained as a faded hypocorism or a diminutive referring to a class. *κρανίδιον* = *κράνος*, 'helmet,' by analogy to articles of dress, e. g. *πλιδιον*. CIA. 2. 678 B 4, 69 (378-366 B. C.). *κώδιον* = *κῶας* 'fleece,' and has taken the place of the latter in Attic prose and comedy, evidently because the word was thus brought into the favorite declension and uncouth forms like the genitive *κῶως* were thus avoided. As to its origin, it may have been 'specializing,' in which case some generic idea like *σπρῶμα* was taken up by the original adjective; or else it followed some word like the faded diminutive *χαμεύνιον* 'bed on the ground' (§ 208 H). *κώδιον* occurs Ar. Ran. 1478, Pax 1122, 1124, Equ. 400, Thesm. 1180, Plut. 166; Phil. frg. 4. 10; Plato Protag. 315 D; Arist. H. A. 8. 10. 596 b 8; in the form *κώιδιον* Insc. Halicarnas. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 641. 145. *πηρίδιον* = *πήρα*, 'wallet,' probably following *βαλαντίδιον* (above). Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 172. *σνῖδιον* = *σῦς*, 'pig,' in Marc. Anton. 10. 10. Like others of his 'diminutives' it is probably a translation of a faded Latin diminutive, in this case *porcellus*. *ταινίδιον* = *τανία* 'fillet,' 'strip of linen,' probably following articles of dress and ornament, though it might be a diminutive referring to a class. Hipp. 398; CIA. 2. 835 c-1 70 (320-317 B. C.), 2. 766. 16; Insc. Delos. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 20, ap. Mich. 833. 51, 119. *ταξειδιον* = *τάξις*, 'a squadron of soldiers,' for obscure reasons. Agath. Diaconus de Actis VI Synodi; Anon. Combefis. in Porphyrog. n. 29; Suid.

IX. 'Like, but not equivalent to the primitive.' *βοτρίδιον*: *βότρυς*, 'an ear-ring like a grape.' Com. ap. Poll. 5. 97. *γλυκεῖδιον*: *τὸ γλυκὺ* 'that which has the nature of sweetness,' 'something sweet.' (Cf. *γλυκάδιον*, § 324. VIII). Pap. Berol. 417. 8 (in a letter of the 2d or 3d century A. D.); Theodos. 65. 29. *δακρυίδιον*: *δάκρυ*, 'that which is like tears,' a kind of scammony, because it emits a fluid from its roots when they are cut. Late medical writers. *ζώδιον*:



ζῶον, 'that which is like an animal,' originally 'a figure of an animal,' but generalized so as to designate any painted, carved, or embroidered figures. Thus it is used of figures upon a bronze κρατήρ in Herod. 1. 70, of woven figures Arist. Mirab. 96. 838 a 22, of figures carved upon stone id. ib. 134. 844 a 16. The word is also used of metal and wooden figures in inscriptions: CIA. 2. 678 B 59 (378-366 B. C.), ζῶδια χα[λ]κᾶ. ib. 714. 24 (330 B. C.), ζῶδια ξύλινα. Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 11, ζῶδια ἀργυρᾶ δύο. Since ζῶδιον was used of the signs of the zodiac (Arist. Metaphys. 11. 1073 b 20, Meteorol. 1. 6. 343 a 24) and once of figures sixteen ells long (Diod. Sic. 1. 47, 343 a 24) and once of figures sixteen ells long (Diod. Sic. 1. 47, 343 a 24) and once of figures sixteen ells long (Diod. Sic. 1. 47, 343 a 24), no diminutive force could have been felt in it. Θεατρίδιον: θέατρον, 'that which is like a (little) theater,' 'a bird cage.' Varro RR. 3. 5. 13, theatridion avium. ἵππιδιον: ἵππος, that which is like a horse, a kind of fish. Epich. frg. 44 (ap. Athen. 304 E.). πυρηρίδιον: πυρήν, 'that which is like a kernel,' 'a button,' 'knob,' etc. (cf. πυρήνιον). Pap. Berol. 781 III 8, ποιρηνιδίους (cf. Herwerden App. Lex. Suppl. sub. διαπήνιον). σκορπίδιον: σκορπίος, 'that which is like a scorpion,' an engine of war for discharging arrows. Polyb. 8. 7. 6; LXX I Macc. 6. 51.

A special group of words in -ιδιον is composed of those designating an image or likeness, which, since usually smaller than the object represented, are largely on the border line between this class and the diminutives. βοῖδιον: βόως, 'an image of a cow.' Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>a</sup>. 586. 54 (beg. of 4th cent. B. C.), βοῖδιον ἐλεφάντινον. Ps. Plato Epigr. 21. 3; Ps. Anacr. 115, 116; Ps. Simon. Ceos 178. 'Eqmīdion' 'an image of Hermes.' Ar. Pax 924. κοῦριδιον i. e. κοῦριδιον: κῶρος, 'an image of the youth' Apollo. Hes. sub κοῦριδιον, Λάκωνες δὲ κοῦριδιον καλοῦσι [τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς] τετράχειρον Ἀπόλλωνα. νικιδιον: νίκη, 'an image of victory.' CIA. 2. 766. 15, 4. 845 c 3. ὄφιδιον: ὄφις, 'an image of a serpent.' CIA. 2. 766. 16 (340-337 B. C.), 722 A 17 (319 B. C.), 835 c-1 6, 52, 62 (320-317 B. C.): Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 50.

X. *Deterioratives.* A. Referring to an individual as compared to its class. ἀρχιδιον: ἀρχή 'office.' Dem. 18. 261, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων (sc. τοῦ Αἰσχίνου), γραμματεῦν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. δικιδιον: δίκη 'trial.' Ar. Equ. 347, Εἴ που δικιδιον εἶπας εὖ κατὰ ξένου μετοίκου, . . . ὧς δυνάτεις εἶναι λέγειν. θυμιδιον: θυμός 'anger.' Ar. Vesp. 878, Παῦσόν τ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τὸ λίαν στρυφνὸν καὶ πρίνινον ἦθος, Ἀντὶ σιραίου μέλιτος μικρὸν τῷ θυμιδίῳ παραμῖξας. ἰχ-

θύδιον: ἰχθύς 'fish.' Ar. frg. 2. 1108 (1. 8), Καὶ μὴ περιμένειν ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἰχθύδια Τριταῖα, πολυτίμητα, βεβασανισμένα Ἐπ' ἰχθυοπώλου χειρὶ παρανομωτάτῃ. κοιλιδιον: κοιλία 'belly.' Strabo 675. κρεάδιον: κρέας 'meat.' Cephisod. frg. 2. 885, see § 161 sub τὰρίχιον. Alexis frg. 3. 466 (4. 2), Ἡμιοπτα μὲν Τὰ κρεᾶδι' ἐστί. κυνιδιον: κύων 'dog.' Ar. frg. 2. 1030 (12) (a corrupt passage variously emended, cf. Meineke ad loc.). κωβιδιον: κωβίος (kind of fish). Arist. frg. 292. 1529 a 4, γίνεται δ' αὕτη ἐκ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ φαύλων . . . κωβιδίων. λογιδιον: λόγος 'argument.' Isocr. 13. 20, τοιαῦτα λογίδια διεξιόντες, οἷς εἴ τις ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐμμένειεν, εὐθὺς ἂν ἐν πᾶσιν εἴη κακῶς. μυθιδιον: μῦθος 'story.' Luc. Philops. 2, πάντοτε ἀλλόκοτα καὶ τεράστια μυθίδια παίδων ψυχὰς κηλεῖν δυνάμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Μορμῶ καὶ τὴν Λάμμαν δεδιότων. οἰκιδιον: οἰκία, οἶκος 'house.' Plato Eryx. 394 D, ἐν συμικρῷ καὶ φαύλῳ οἰκιδίῳ. ῥησιδιον: ῥῆσις 'speech.' Cyrill. Al. in Micheae c. 7 p. 456, Δυσέφικτον κομιδὴ τὸ ῥησιδιον.

B. Referring to a class. αἰγιδιον: αἶξ 'goat.' Pherecr. frg. 2. 264 (7), Ὡς περ τῶν αἰγιδίων<sup>1</sup> ὄζειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος μελικήρας. ἀργυριδιον: ἀργύριον, ἄργυρος 'silver,' 'money.' Ar. Av. 1622, Ὅταν διαριθμῶν ἀργυριδιον τύχη Ἀνδρῶπος οὗτος, . . . Καταπτάμενος ἱκτίνος ἀναρπάσας λάθρα, Προβάτων δυσὲν τιμὴν ἀνοίσει τῷ θεῷ. Isocr. 13. 4, καὶ λέγουσι μὲν (sc. οἱ σοφισταί) ὡς οὐδὲν δέονται χρημάτων, ἀργυριδιον καὶ χρυσίδιον τὸν πλοῦτον ἀποκαλοῦντες. γράδιον: γράς 'old woman.' Ar. Eccl. 949, Ἐξηπάτησα τὸ κατάρτατον γράδιον. id. ib. 1000, παραφρονεῖς, ὦ γράδιον. id. Plut. 536, Σὺ γὰρ ἂν πορίσαι τί δύναι' ἀγαθόν, πλὴν φώδων ἐκ βαλανείου, Καὶ παιδαρίων ὑποπεινῶντων καὶ γράδιων κολοσυρτόν; Dem. 18. 260, τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ γράδιων προσαγορευόμενος. γυμνασιδιον: γυμνάσιον 'gymnastic school.' Epict. 2. 16. 29, τί κρείττων εἴ τοῦ διὰ κοράσιον κλάοντος, εἰ διὰ γυμνασιδιον καὶ στοῖδια καὶ νεανισκάρια καὶ τοιαύτην διατριβὴν πενθεῖς; ἐταιριδιον: ἐταιρίς, ἐταίρα 'courtesan.' Plut. 2. 808 E, ἐταιριδίους, οὐ στρατηγούς πρέπον ἐστί. θεραπαινιδιον: θεραπαινίς, θεραπαινὴ 'servant.' Plut. Anton. 29, συνήλυε, θεραπαινιδίου στολὴν λαμβάνουσα. κορασίδιον: κοράσιον 'maiden.' Epict. 1. 18. 22, ἂν ἀργυριδιον προβάλλῃς, καταφρονήσῃ. τί οὖν ἂν κορασίδιον; κρεάδιον: κρέας 'meat.' Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 13, χάριν γὰρ, ἔφη, εἰ ἔνεκα κρεαδίων τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀποβουκολήσαιμι. κριθιδιον: κριθή 'barley.' Luc. Asin. 46, τοῖς παρακαίμενοις κριθιδίοις μακρὰ χαίρειν λέγων. κτησειδιον: κτήσις 'property.' Epict. 1. 1. 10, Ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ὁ Ζεὺς; Ἐπὶ κτητε, εἰ οἶόν τε ἦν, καὶ τὸ σωματίον ἂν σου καὶ τὸ κτησειδιον ἐποίησα

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Meineke ad loc.



ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἀπαράδοιστον. *κυνίδιον*: κύων, 'dog.' Ar. Pax. 482, Γλισχρότατα σαρκάζοντες ὥσπερ κυνίδια. id. ib. 641, Εἴτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς τοῦτον ὥσπερ κυνίδι' ἐσπαράττετε. Eupol. frg. 2. 511, Συρακίσιος δ' εἰσικεν, ἥνικ' ἂν λέγῃ, τοῖς κυνιδίοισι τοῖσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχίων. Ἀναβὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ὑλακτεῖ περιτρέχων. Arist. Rhet. 3. 4. 1406 b 28, ὅμοιος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν κυνιδίοις. *λεξιίδιον*: λέξις 'speech.' Epict. 2. 1. 30. *ὄνιδιον*: ὄνος 'ass.' Ar. Vesp. 1306, Ἐνὶ λᾶτ', ἐσκίρτα, πεπὸρδει, κατεγέλα, Ὡσπερ καχρύων ὄνιδιον εὐωχημένον. *παλλακίδιον*: παλλακίς, παλλακή 'concubine.' Plut. 2. 789 B, παλλακίδιον ἀντὶ τῆς γαμετῆς ἐπισπάσασθαι. *πηρίδιον*: πῆρα 'wallet.' Ar. Nub. 923, Ἐκ πηριδίου Γνώμας τρώγων Πανδελεταίους. *πυλίδιον*: πύλιον, πῖλος 'felt cap.' Dem. 19. 255, καὶ πυλίδιον λαβὼν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν περινοστής καὶ ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ. *πορνίδιον*: πόρνη 'harlot.' Ar. Nub. 997, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς ταῦτα κεχηνώς, Μήλω βληθεῖς ὑπὸ πορνιδίου, τῆς εὐκλείας ἀποδραυσθῆς. id. Ran. 1301; Antiphan. frg. 3. 156 (71); Men. frg. 4. 223 (2); Com. Anon. frg. 4. 601 (6. 3), πορνιδίῳ τρισαυθλίῳ Ἐαυτὸν οὕτω παραδέδωκεν. *πυργίδιον*: πύργος 'tower.' Ar. Equ. 793, τοῦτον ὁρῶν οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς πύργων καὶ γυπαρίαις καὶ πυργιδίοις ἔτος ὄγδοον οὐκ ἐλαίρεις. *σηπίδιον*: σηπία 'cuttle-fish.' Alexis frg. 3. 455, see § 166 sub *τριχίδιον*. *σκηρίδιον*: σκηνή 'tent.' Thuc. 6. 37. 2, στρατοπέδῳ τε ἐκ νεῶν ἰδρυθέντι καὶ ἐκ σκηρινδίων καὶ ἀναγκαιᾶς παρασκευῆς. *συίδιον*: σῦς 'pig.' Etym. Mag. 349. 29, Προβατίαις καὶ συίδιοις ὁμιλῶν, οὗτ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν βελτίων ἐγένετο. *ὑίδιον*: ὕς 'pig.' Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 30, ἐπιθυμῶν Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνήσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὕδια τοῖς λίθοις. *υἰίδιον*: υἱός 'son.' Ar. Vesp. 1356, Τὸ γὰρ υἰδίου τηρεῖ με, κάστι δύσκολον.

C. 'Merely,' 'nothing but,' etc. *γῆράδια* 'merely old women.' Xen. An. 6. 3. 22, see § 167 sub *γερόντιον*.

D. A faded deteriorative probably is *γῆράδιον* in the following passages: Ar. Plut. 674, Ὀλίγον ἄπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ γῆραδίου. id. 688, Τὸ γῆράδιον δ' ὥς ἤσθετό μου τοῦ φόφον, τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπερῆρε. The word passed through the same development as *γερόντιον* (§ 165).

XI. *Diminutives*. (1) Referring to an individual as compared to a class. The letters of the subdivisions here and under 2) correspond to those used under simple -ιον, except that words in which the suffix means 'dainty' rather than 'small' (§ 193 ff.) are all grouped under the hypocoristic use. A. *βασιλειίδιον*: βασιλεύς, 'a small king,' not (like the Latin *regulus*) 'a petty king.' Plut. Ages. 2, τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐζημίωσαν οἱ ἔφοροι γήμαντα γυναιῖα μικράν. "Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς," ἔφασαν "ἄμυν, ἀλλὰ βασιλειδία γεννάσει." *Σκυθίδιον*: Σκύθης 'a Scythian.' Anna Comn. p. 394 C, γίγαντα . . . ὑπὸ πυγμαίου κατασχεθέντα

Σκυθιδίου. B. *ἀφείδιον*: ἀφύη 'anchovy or sardine.' Ar. frg. 2. 1152 (10) probably combined with the idea of deliciousness), τὰ Φαληρικά τὰ μικρὰ τὰδ' ἀφύδια. *βοίδιον*: βοῦς 'cow.' Arist. H. A. 3. 21. 522 b 14, βοῖδια μικρά, ὧν ἕκαστον βδάλλεται γάλα πολὺ. *βούδιον*: βοῦς. Hermipp. frg. 2. 393 (1) (combined with contempt), Οἱ γὰρ πενόμενοι Ἀνάπηρά σοι θύουσιν ἤδη βούδια, Λεωτροφίδου λεπτότερα καὶ Θουμάντιδος. *θηρίδιον*: θηρίον 'animal.' Theophr. H. P. 2. 8. 3, ἐγγίνεται γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις θηρίδι' ἄττα. *ἰχθυίδιον*: ἰχθύς 'fish.' Alexis frg. 3. 429 (1. 5), ἰχθυιδίων Μικρῶν. Arist. H. A. 5. 16. 548 a 30, θηρεύουσι τὰ ἰχθυῖδια τὰ μικρά. id. 6. 15. 569 a 20, ἰχθυῖδια μικρὰ ἡλίκα ἐφηταί. *κρίδιον*: ὁ μικρὸς κριός, Hes. *κυνίδιον*: κύων 'dog.' Arist. Probl. 10. 12. 892 a 21, ἐνίοις ἰδεῖν ἔστι μικροὺς μὲν σφόδρα, συμμέτρους δέ, ὥσπερ τὰ Μελιταῖα κυνίδια. *κωβίδιον*, see sub X. A. *ὄφειδιον*: ὄφης 'serpent.' Arist. H. A. 8. 29. 607 a 30, 33, ἔστι δέ τ. ὄφειδιον μικρόν, ὁ καλοῦσί τινες ἱερὸν, ὁ οἱ πάνυ μεγάλοι ὄφεις φεύγουσιν. Strabo 706, τὰ λεπτὰ ὄφειδια. It is impossible to decide whether the word is diminutive or 'generalizing' in passages like Arist. H. A. 4. 29. 607 a 24, γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ τι ὄφειδιον. *ὄψαριδιον*: ὄψαριον 'fish.' Geopon. 20. 46, λεπτὰ ὄψαριδια. *σιάλιδιον*: σιάλος 'fat hog.' Insc. Cos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 621, θυέτω . . . αἶγα . . . καὶ σ(ι)αλ(α)ῖδια. C. *κερατίδιον*: κέρας 'horn.' CIA. 2. 826. 22 (precise force doubtful). *ὄρχ(ε)ίδιον*: ὄρχις 'testicle.' Diosc. 3. 142, ῥίζα δὲ ὑπεστὶν ὀρχιδίαις ὁμοία. Cf. Suid. sub ὄρχις, καὶ ὀρχειδίων. ὑποκοριστικόν. *ὀσφείδιον*: ὀσφύς 'hip.' Precise force uncertain, only Theognost. Can. 125. 10. *χειρίδιον*: χεῖρ, 'a little (image of a) hand.' CIA. 2. 836 c-k (270-262 B. C.), [χει]ρίδιον παιδικόν. D. *ἐλάδιον*: ἐλάα 'olive tree.' Alciph. 3. 13, ἐλάδια ἐμφοτεύειν. *πιτύδιον*: πῖτυς 'pine-tree.' Only Theognost. Can. 125. 9, precise force therefore uncertain. *πρινιδιον*: πρίνος. Ar. Av. 615, Πρῶτον μὲν γ' οὐχὶ νεῶς ἡμᾶς Οἰκοδομεῖν δεῖ λιθίνους αὐτοῖς, . . . Ἀλλ' ὑπὸ θαύμοις καὶ πρινιδίοις Οἰκήσουσιν. τοῖς δ' αὖ σεμνοῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων δένδρον ἐλάας Ὁ νεῶς ἔσται (The olive trees are contrasted with the shrubbery with which the lesser gods among the birds will be content, cf. Koch ad l.). *συκίδιον*: συκῆ 'fig-tree.' Ar. Pax 597, see § 195 sub *ἀμπέλιον*. E. *ἀγρίδιον*: ἀγρός 'field.' Epict. 2. 2. 17, περὶ ἀγριδίου πραγματίον ἔχων. Marc. Anton. 4. 3, μέμνησο τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ἀγρίδιον ἑαυτοῦ. Hes., ἀγρίδιον· κωμάριον, χωρίον, [παρὰ Αἰτωλοῖς]. *κρηνίδιον*: κρήνη 'spring.' Arist. Mirab. 117. 841 b 10, κρηνιδίον τι μικρόν. *νησίδιον*: νησίς, νῆσος 'island.' Thuc. 6. 2. 6, ὥκουσιν δὲ καὶ Φοίνικας περὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀπολαβόντες καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησίδια. id. 7. 23. 4,



8. 11. 1; Arist. Mirab. 26. 832 a 24, ἐν τινι ὑπερκειμένῳ . . . νησιδίῳ. *πηγίδιον*: ἡ μικρὰ πηγή, Suid. *πολίδιον*: πόλις 'city.' Strabo 344. Πρὸς ἄρκτον δ' ὄμορα ἦν τῷ Πύλῳ δύο πολίδια Τριφυλικὰ, Ἰπᾶνα μὲν καὶ Τυμπανέαι. Cf. *πολειδίον*, Etym. Mag. 147. 22. *ροειδίον*: ῥόος 'stream' (see § 302 end). IGSI. 352 I 27. *χωρίδιον*: χωρίον, χώρος, χώρα 'land,' 'place,' etc. Lys. 19. 28, γῆ μὲν οὐκ ἦν ἄλλ' ἢ χωρίδιον μικρὸν Παμνοῦντι. Cf. *χωρειδίον* Insc. Boeot. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 740. 8. F. *ἀνδριάντιον*: ἀνδριάς 'statue.' Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 167, 171. *τυπίδιον* (cf. *τυπίον*): τύπος 'image.' CIA. 2. 835 c-1 73, 87 (320-317 B. C.), τυπ[ί]δια ἐπὶ σανιδίου δύο. G. *ἀσκιδίον*: ἀσκίον, ἀσκός 'bag.' Ar. Eccl. 306, ἦκεν ἕκαστος ἐν ἀσκιδίῳ φέρων Πιεῖν ἄμα τ' ἄρκτον αὖθις καὶ δύο κρομμύω καὶ τρεῖς ἀν' ἐλάας. *κρατηρίδιον*: κρατήριον, κρατήρ 'mixing-bowl.' Joseph. A. J. 3. 6. 7, σφαίρια καὶ κρένα σὺν βούτκαϊς καὶ κρατηρίδιαις. *κυμβίδιον*: κυμβίον, κύμβος, κύμβη 'cup.' CIA. 2. 835 c-1 88, [κ]υμβίδιον μικρ[όν]. *πινακίδιον*: πινάκιον, πινάξ 'trencher.' Hipp. 1199, ἐκ μικροῦ πινακιδίου. *χυτρίδιον*: χυτρίς, χύτρα 'pot.' CIA. 2. add. 682 c 10, χυτρίδια μικρά. *ψυκτηρίδιον*: ψυκτήριον, ψυκτήρ 'wine-cooler.' Alexis frg. 3. 383 (2. 7), ψυκτηρίδιον δὲ (sc. ἦγε) δέκ' ὀβολούς, Φιλλιππίδου Λεπτότερον. H. *ἄξιιδιον*: ἄξιον 'ax.' Joseph. B. J. 2. 8. 9. *διγρίδιον*: δίγρος 'seat.' Etym. Mag. 718, 44, τῶν μικρῶν διγριδίων. *δορύδιον*: δόρυ 'spear-shaft.' Oribas. p. 161. 18 (ed. Cocch.), Δορύδιον τὸ τοῦ τυφλαγκίστρου (a surgical instrument). *ἱμαντίδιον*: ἱμάς 'strap.' Etym. Mag. 671. 9, μικρὸν ἱμαντίδιον. *κλυστηρίδιον*: κλυστήριον, κλυστήρ 'clyster-pipe.' Paul. Aeg. p. 79. 19, ἐγκλυζέσθω τὰ ὅτα διὰ κλυστηριδίου. *ξίφιδιον*: ξίφος 'sword.' Thuc. 3. 22. 3, φιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξίφιδι. id. 8. 69. 4, μετὰ ξίφιδιου ἀφανοῦς ἕκαστος. Xen. Hell. 2. 3. 23, ξίφιδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντες. id. ib. 5. 4. 3, ξίφιδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὅπλον οὐδέν. *πελιτίδιον*: πέλις 'shield.' Schol. Luc. D. Mort. 14. 2, πελτιδία, . . . μικρὰ ἀσπιδίσκια. *σφριγγίδιον* (cf. *σφρίγγιον*): σφρίγγς 'pipe.' Hero Spir. 170 A. I. *δικαστηρίδιον*: δικαστήριον 'court room.' Ar. Vesp. 803, Κἂν τοῖς πρὸς θύραις ἐνοικοδομήσῃ πᾶς ἀνὴρ Αὐτῷ δικαστηρίδιον μικρὸν πάνυ. *καλίδιον*: καλιά 'hut.' Eupol. frg. 2. 442 (5), Οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐνθαδ' ἐν τρισὶν καλιδίοις. *ναΐδιον*: ναός 'temple.' Polyb. 6. 53. 4, τιθέασι τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον τῆς οἰκίας, ξύλινα ναΐδια περιτιθέντες. Strabo 379, ἡ μὲν οὖν κορυφὴ ναΐδιον ἔχει Ἀφροδίτης. *οἰκίδιον*: οἰκία etc. 'house.' Ar. Nub. 92, Ὁρᾶς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο καὶ τῷκιδιον; Isae. 2. 35, οἰκίδιον ὃ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄξιον τριῶν μνῶν. id. 5. 22; Dem. 57. 65, 59. 39; Plato Eryx. 394 D (see sub X. A. *σκαφίδιον*: σκαφίς, σκάφη 'boat.' Polyb. 34. 3. 2, σκοπὸς γὰρ ἐφέστηκε

κοινὸς ὑφορμοῦσιν ἐν δικώποις σκαφιδίοις πολλοῖς, δύο καθ' ἕκαστον σκαφίδιον. *τurreίδιον*: τύρρις 'tower.' IGSI. 352. II. 65, 77. J. *βιβλίδιον*: βιβλίον, βιβλος 'book.' Dem. 56. 1, λαβὼν γὰρ ἀργύριον φανερόν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον, ἐν γραμματειδίῳ δυσὶν χαλκοῖν ἐωνημένῳ καὶ βιβλιδίῳ μικρῷ πάνυ τὴν ὁμολογίαν καταλέλοιπε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὰ δίκαια. *γραμματείδιον*: γραμματεῖον 'tablet.' see preceding. *γραμματίδιον*: γράμμα 'letter.' Etym. Mag. 241. 6. *γωνίδιον*: γωνία 'corner.' Luc. Nocyom. 17, ἐδείχθη δέ μοι (sc. Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν) ἐν γωνιδίῳ τινὶ μισθοῦ ἀκούμενος τὰ σαπρὰ τῶν ὑποδημάτων. Marc. Anton. 3. 10, μικρὸν δὲ τὸ τῆς γῆς γωνίδιον, ὅπου ζεῖ. *δεσμιδίον*: δέσμη 'bundle.' Diosec. Parab. 2. 64, χρυσοκόμης δεσμιδίον. Matth. Med. p. 84, Ἴων δεσμιδίον. *λιθίδιον*: λίθος, 'a little stone,' i. e. 'pebble.' The diminutive origin was forgotten occasionally, as is shown by Arist. Probl. 23. 29. 934 b 22, ἡ δὲ πόρρω (sc. γῆ) ξηρὰ τε οὖσα διίσταται, καὶ ἐκ μειζόνων ἐστὶ λιθιδίων καὶ ἀνεδάφιστος. In Plato Phaedo 110 D λιθιδία are 'jewels.' *πετριδίον*: πέτρα 'rock.' Arist. frg. 317. 1531 b 40, τῶν πετριδίων ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας ταῖς προβοσκίσι λαμβάνουσιν (sc. αἱ σπηλαί) ἔρμουσι. *στηλίδιον*: στήλη 'grave-stone.' Theophr. Char. 21, κυναρίου . . . τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ μνημα ποιῆσαι καὶ στηλίδιον ποιήσας ἐπιγράψαι. Hes., στηλιδία τὰ τεθεμένοι ὄροι. *φλυκταινίδιον*: φλυκτανίς, φλύκτανα 'blister.' Hipp. 985, φλυκταινιδία μέλανα. *χλανισκίδιον*: χλανίσκιον: χλανίς 'cloak.' Ar. Pax 1002, χλανισκιδίων μικρῶν. K. *ἀργυρίδιον*: ἀργύριον, 'a small sum of money.' Ar. Plut. 147, Ἐγώ γε τοι διὰ μικρὸν ἀργυρίδιον Δοῦλος γεγέννημαι. *γῆδιον*: γῆ, 'a little piece of land,' i. e. 'a farm.' Ar. Pax 570, τριανθοῦν τῇ δικέλλῃ . . . τὸ γῆδιον. id. frg. 2. 1108 (1. 2); Xen. Cyr. 8. 3. 38, καὶ μάλα μικρὸν γῆδιον, οὐ μέντοι πονηρόν γε, ἀλλὰ πάντων δικαιοτάτον. Arist. Pol. 6. 5. 1320 a 39, εἴ τις δύναται τοσοῦτον ἀθροίζων ὅσον εἰς γῆδιου κτήσιν. *ζωμιδίον*: ζωμός, 'a little bit of soup.' Ar. Nub. 389, Χῶσπερ βροντῇ τὸ ζωμιδίον παταγεῖ καὶ δεῖνα κέκραγεν. *σαρκίδιον* (cf. *σαρκίον*): σάρξ, 'a little piece of flesh.' Arist. Gen. An. 2. 7. 746 a 20, λέγοντες τρέφεσθαι τὰ παιδία . . . διὰ τοῦ σαρκιδίου τι βδάλλειν. id. frg. 315. 1531 b 9, τροφῇ δὲ χρῆται (sc. ὁ πολύπους) ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ τοῖς τῶν κογχυλίων σαρκιδίοις. *κριθίδιον*: κριθή, 'a little barley.' Luc. Asin. 3, ἀπήειμεν λουσόμενοι δόντες αὐτῇ κριθιδίων τιμὴν εἰς τὸν ἵππον. *χρυσίδιον*: χρυσίον, χρυσός, 'a little gold.' Isae. 2. 9, τὰ χρυσίδια ἃ ἦν δίδωσιν αὐτῇ. 'A little piece of gold' in CIA. 2. 656. 3, χρυσίδια διάλιθα. ib. 652 A 18, χρυσίδια μικρά. L. *δικίδιον*: δίκη 'trial.' Ar. Vesp. 511, ἀλλ' ἦδιον ἂν Δικίδιον σμικρὸν φάγοιμ' ἂν ἐν λοπάδι πεπνιγμένον. *ἐλκίδιον*: ἔλκος 'sore.' Plut. 2. 300 A, ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐλκιδίου νοσήσας. *ἐξ(ε)ίδιον*: ἔξις, of uncertain application,



only in Etym. Mag. 347. 54. *λογίδιον* : λόγος, 'short argument.' Plato Eryx. 401 E, Συνέφη μὲν, . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπάραττέ γε αὐτὸν σφόδρα τὸ λογίδιον. *στιχίδιον* : στίχος, 'a short line of poetry.' Plut. Pericl. 30; Athen. 4 A.

2. Referring to a class. B. *δαμαλείδιον* : δάμαλις 'heifer.' Philem. Lex. 96. *ἰχθύδιον* : ἰχθύς 'fish.' Mnesimach. frg. 3. 568 (6), τοὺς μὲν ἰχθύς μοι κάλει Ἰχθύδιον· ὄψον δ' ἂν λέγῃς ἕτερον, κάλει Ὀψάριον. ἴδιον γὰρ ἀπολοῦμαι πολὺ. *μυίδιον* : μῦς 'mouse.' Marc. Anton. 7. 3, μυιδίων ἐπτοημένων διαδρομαί. Cf. *μύδιον*, Theogn. Can. 121. 24. *νανοίδιον* : νᾶνος. Schol. Clement. Al. Paed. 3. 4, Μελιταίων κυνί-  
*νανοίδιον* : νᾶνος. Schol. Clement. Al. Paed. 3. 4, Μελιταίων κυνί-  
διον μικρόν, ὃ νανούδιον καλοῦσι κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ ἄνω ἰέναι· ἔστι γὰρ ὑποκοριστικὸν τοῦ νᾶνος· νᾶνον δὲ μικρόν φασι ἀνθρώπων. *οἰδίον* : οἶς 'sheep.' Cf. *προβάτιον*, § 208 Ba. Phot., *Οἶδια*· *προβάτια*. Theogn. Can. 121. 29. *χοιρίδιον* (cf. *χοίριον*) : χοῖρος 'young pig.' Ar. Ach. 806, Ἐνεγκάτω τις ἔνδοθεν τῶν ἰσχάδων τῶς χοιριδίσι. id. ib. 812. 830, Vesp. 573; Strattis frg. 2. 784 (2), see § 193 a sub *ὀρνίδιον*. C. *γαστριδίον* : γαστήρ 'belly.' Ar. Nub. 392, Σκέψαι τοίνυν ἀπὸ γαστριδίου τυννουτοῦ οἷα πέπορδας· Τὸν δ' ἀέρα τόνδ' ὄντ' ἀπέραντον, πῶς γαστριδίου τυννουτοῦ οἷα πέπορδας· Τὸν δ' ἀέρα τόνδ' ὄντ' ἀπέραντον, πῶς γαστριδίου τυννουτοῦ οἷα πέπορδας. *ὄφρυδιον* : ὄφρυς 'eye-brow.' Hes., ἐπισκύνιον· τὸ ἐπάνω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὄφρυδιον. Nicetas in Isaac. et Alex. n. 3, τὰ ὄφρυδια ἔχειν δασέα καὶ ἡνωμένα, ἐπάνω τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ κρεμάμενα. D. *κληματίδια* : κληματίς, κλήμα 'brush-wood.' Vita Sim. Sali Actt. SS. Jul. t. 1 p. 166. 14, 168. 8. *μοσχίδιον* : μόσχος 'a young shoot.' Ar. Ach. 996, νέα μοσχίδια συκίδων. J. *γραμματείδιον* : γραμματεῖον 'tablet.' Isocr. 17. 34, καίτοι ὅστις μικρὸν ἔνεκα καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδυνεύων ταύτας (sc. τὰς ὑδρίας) ὑπανόγειν ἐτόλμησεν, αἱ σεσημασμένοι μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πρυτάνεων, κατεσφραγισμένοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν χορηγῶν, ἐφυλάττοντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ταμιῶν, ἔκειντο δ' ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τί δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ γραμματείδιον παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ ξένῳ κείμενον τοσαῦτα μέλ-  
λοντες χρήματα κερδαίνειν μετέγραψαν. Dem. 54. 37, Τοίχους τοίνυν διορύττοντες καὶ παίοντες τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ἄρ' ἂν ὑμῖν ὀκνήσῃ δοκοῦσιν ἐν γραμματείδιῳ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρεῖν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κεκοινωνηκότες τοσαύτης καὶ τοιαύτης φιλαπεχθιμοσύνης καὶ πονηρίας καὶ ἀναιδείας καὶ ὑβρεως· *δακτυλίδιον* : δακτύλιος 'finger-ring.' Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 119. *δακτυλίδιον* χρυσοῦν, . . . *δακτυλίδιον* διάλειθον. *μνούδιον* : μνοῦς 'fine feathers.' Gloss. *λιθαρίδιον* : λιθάριον 'pebble.' Gl. Alex. Trall. 3 p. 61, Ψηφίον, τὸ λιθαρίδιον. L. *δικίδιον* : δίκη 'law-suit.' Ar. Nub. 1109, μέμνησ' ὅπως Εἴ μοι στομώσεις αὐτόν, ἐπὶ μὲν θᾶτερα Οἶαν δικιδίαις, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν αὐτοῦ γνάθον Στόμωσον οἶαν ἐς τὰ μεῖζω πράγ-  
ματα.

3. Among peculiar modifications of the diminutive meaning which do not follow from the classification may be mentioned the following:

A. The meaning 'soft,' 'elegant' (§ 211 D). *πιλίδιον* : πιλίον, πῖλος, 'soft felt cap.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 17, Πιλίδιον ἀπαλόν. *χρωτίδιον* : χρώς 'soft, delicate skin.' Cratin. frg. 2. 183 (23) = Crates frg. 2. 248 (3), Ὡς δὲ μαλακὸν καὶ τέρεν τὸ χρωτίδιον ἐστ', ὃ θεοί.

B. 'Thin,' 'slender' (§ 211 E). *άλυσειδίον* : ἄλυσις, 'a thin chain.' Hes., *πτερνίς*· τὰ πυθμένα τῶν ἱατρικῶν λεκανίδων, ἃ μέχρι νῦν προσδέουσιν ἄλυσειδίαις μακροῖς ἐν τοῖς ἱατρ(ε)ίοις.

C. 'Fine,' 'ground fine' (cf. note to *παλημάτιον* in § 231), probably due to the influence of the adjective *λεπτός* (§ 210). *πυρίδια* : πυρός, 'finely ground wheat.' Ar. Lys. 1206, *πυρίδια* λεπτά.

D. The use of a diminutive to give an impression of modesty (§ 213). *ἀργυρίδιον* 'my little bit of money.' Eupol. frg. 2. 479 (42), Ἐγὼ δὲ συμψήσασα τὰργυρίδιον. *λογίδιον* : λόγος, 'little story of ours.' Ar. Vesp. 64, Ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν λογίδιον γνώμην ἔχων. *οἰκίδιον* 'my little house.' Lys. 1. 9, οἰκιδίον ἐστὶ μοι διπλοῦν. *οὐσίδιον* : οὐσία, 'a little wealth.' Nicomachus frg. 4. 587 (1), Οὐσίδιον γὰρ κατὰ πόντος μοι πατρός, Οὕτω συνεστρογγύλικα κἄξεκόκκισα Ἐν μῆσιν ὀλίγοις ὥσπερ ὅν τις ῥοφῶν.

E. The use of diminutives for objects for which the speaker asks as a favor (§ 215). *ἀργυρίδιον* 'a little money.' Ar. Plut. 240, Κἂν τις προσέλθῃ χρηστὸς ἀνθρώπος φίλος Αἰτῶν λαβεῖν τι μικρὸν ἀργυρίδιον. id. frg. 2. 1164 (4), Ἦτιον τι τὰς γυναικας ἀργυρίδιον. *πιλίδιον* 'a little felt cap.' Ar. Ach. 439, Εὐριπίδῃ, Πειδῆπερ ἐχαρίσω ταδί, Κἀκεῖνά μοι δὲς τὰκόλουθα τῶν ῥακῶν, Τὸ πιλίδιον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸ Μύσιον. *χοιρίδιον* 'a little porker.' Ar. Pax 374, Ἐς χοιριδίον μοί νυν δάνεισον τρεῖς δραχμάς. For *χυτρίδιον* see § 215.

F. Closely related to the preceding is the use of a diminutive to make a thing appear small so as to excuse the speaker for some transgression. Cf. *σκευάριον* (§ 366. IX. 3) and Kock ad Ar. Av. 1111, Κἂν λαχόντες ἀρχίδιον εἴθ' ἀρπάσαι βούλησθε τι, Ὅξυν ἱερὰ κίσκον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῖν δώσωμεν.

G. The use of diminutives in the sense 'merely,' 'nothing but' (§ 216). *ἄρτιδιον* : ἄρτος 'loaf of bread.' Diog. Laert. 7. 13, ἦσθις δε ἄρτιδια καὶ μέλι, καὶ ὀλίγον εὐώδους οἴναριον ἐπέπινε. *λαγώδιον* : λαγώς 'hare.' Ar. Ach. 520, Κεῖ που σίκυον ἴδοιεν ἢ λαγώδιον ἢ χοιρίδιον ἢ σκόροδον ἢ χόνδρους ἄλλας, Ταῦτ' ἦν Μεγαρικὰ κἀπέπρατ' αὐθήμερον. *στιχίδιον* : στίχος 'line of poetry.' Plut. 2. 60 A, περὶ γλώττης καὶ στιχιδίου μαχόμενοι καὶ ἱστορίας μέχρι μέσων νυκτῶν ἀπέ-



τεινον. *χοιρίδιον*, see sub λαγώδιον. *χρυσίδιον*: χρυσίον, χρυσός 'gold.' Dem. 27. 15, ὡμολόγει καὶ τι μικρὸν ἔφη πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα περὶ χρυσιδίων ἀντιλέγεσθαι ('he agreed, but was only going to oppose' etc.).

XII. *Hypocoristic Words*. A. Articles of diet, including animals and plants. *αἰγίδιον*: αἶζ 'goat.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 9 (1. 4). *βοιτρίδιον*: βότρυς 'grape.' Alexis frg. 3. 462 (1. 13), Βοτρίδιον τι, χόριον, ἐν ποτηρίῳ Γλυκύν. *γλαυκίδιον*: γλαυκός (a kind of fish). Antiphan. frg. 3. 130 (1), Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν γλαυκίδιον ὥσπερ ἄλλοτε ἔφειν ἐν ἄλμῃ; *γλαυκινίδιον*: γλαυκῖνος (a kind of fish). Amphis frg. 3. 316, see § 193 b sub λαβράκιον. *ἐγγελίδιον*: ἐγγελυς 'eel.' Amphis 1. c. § 193 b sub λαβράκιον. *ἐντερίδια*: Ephipp. frg. 3. 334 (1. 6), see § 193 b sub ἀλεκτρούδιον. *ἐντερίδια*: τὰ ἐντερα 'the inward parts.' Alexis frg. 3. 416, δῆμος, ἀφύαι, Κρεάδι' ἐντερίδι'. *θραττιδιον*: θράττα (a kind of fish). Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172 (a good example of the extravagance in the use of such 'diminutives' by certain dandies and gluttons), Καὶ συμπαῖζει καριδαρίους Μετὰ περικιδίων καὶ θραττιδίων, Καὶ φητταδίους μετὰ κωθαρίων, Καὶ σκινδαρίους μετὰ κωβιδίων. *ἰχθυίδιον*: ἰχθύς 'fish.' Anaxil. frg. 3. 346, Ἰχθυίδι' μετὰ κωβιδίων. *ἰχθυίδια*: ἰχθύδια . . . ἐμόλυν' ἀλεύρω. Men. frg. 4. 206, Ἐν προσφάτοις ἰχθυίδις τεθραμμένα. *καπριδιον*: κάπρος 'wild-boar.' Ar. frg. 2. 2. 1151 (9. 2), see § 194 b sub ἡπάτιον. *καπυρίδια*<sup>1</sup>: καπυρόν, a kind of cake. Athen. 113 D. *καρύδιον*: κάρυον 'nut.' Philyll. frg. 2. 864 (3), ἀμύγδαλα, Καρύδι', ἐπιφορήματα. *κορακινίδιον*: κορακῖνος (a kind of fish). Pherecr. frg. 2. 274 (2), Τῷς σοῖσι συνὼν κορακινιδίους<sup>2</sup> Καὶ μανιδίους<sup>2</sup> *κραμβίδιον*: κράμβη 'cabbage.' Antiphan. frg. 3. 5 (6), Κραμβίδιον ἐφθὸν χάριεν ἀστεῖον πᾶν. *κρεάδιον*: κρέας 'meat.' Ar. frg. 2. 1185, τὴν γύτραν Ἐν ᾗ τὰ κρεάδι' ἦψες ἐζωμευμένα. Alexis frg. 3. 396 (1. 5), κρεάδι' ἀρνός ἐστι πίονας. id. frg. 3. 416, 429 (1. 15); Men. frg. 4. 223 (1. 13), Κρεάδι' ὀπτᾶ. *κωβίδιον*: κωβίς, (a kind of fish). Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172, see sub θραττιδιον. Sotad. frg. 3. 586 (22). *μαυνίδιον*: μαυνίς, μαυίνη 'sprat.' see § 193 b. *περζίδιον*: πέρκη 'perch,' see sub θραττιδιον. *ροίδιον*: ῥόα 'pomegranate.' Men. frg. 4. 112 (7), τῶν ροιδίων ἐτρώγομεν. *σηπίδιον*: σηπία 'cuttle-fish.' Ar. frg. 2. 1050 (see § 193 b sub ὀσμύλιον), 1076, Ἰχθύς ἐώνηται τις ἢ σηπίδιον, . . . Ἡ νῆστις ὀπτᾶ'. Eubul. frg. 3. 258 (1) (see § 193 b sub τευθίδιον), 268 (15 a 6), Ὅμοῦ τε γινάσκειν μανίσιν σηπίδια. Ephipp. frg. 3. 334 (1. 4), see § 193 b sub ἀλεκτρούδιον. *σικύδιον*: σικύα 'cucumber.' Phryn. Com. frg. 2. 590 (7), κἀντραγεῖν σικύδιον. *σπινίδιον*: σπίνος 'siskin.' Ar. frg.

<sup>1</sup> Var. lect. *καυρία*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably some one is scoffed at for using 'diminutives' of this kind.

2. 1108, Ὅφω τε χρῆσθαι σπινιδίους<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ κίχλαις. *σπλαγγνίδια*: σπλάγγνα 'the inward parts' (cf. ἐντερίδια). Diph. frg. 4. 380 (4), Ἦκει φερόμεν' αὐτόματα πάντα τὰγαθά, Ῥάφανος λιπαρά, σπλαγγνίδια πολλά, σαρκία Ἀπαλώτα'. *ὑπογαστριδιον*: ὑπογαστρίον 'paunch.' Eubul. frg. 3. 269 (16), λάρυγγες, . . . λοπαδάγγαι Λευκῶν ὑπογαστριδίων. Philoxenus 2. 23, Τοῦ δ' ὑπογαστριδίους διανεκέως ἐπαμύνειν, Εἴπερ ἐμὴν τε μέλοι καὶ τίν, μάλα κεν κεχαροίμεθ'. *φυκίδιον*: φυκίς, φύκης (a kind of fish). Anth. P. 5. 185, Εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίσας, Δημήτριε, τρεῖς παρ' Ἀμύντου Γλαυκίσκους αἶτει, καὶ δέκα φυκίδια. *χοιρίδιον*: χοιρίον, χοῖρος 'porker.' Men. frg. 4. 222 (1. 3), χοιρίδιον ἐν θύομεν. Diph. frg. 4. 419 (7), Χοιρίδια περιφόρινα κρομβώσας ὄλα.

B. Human beings (also gods in comedy, cf. § 243). a) Appellatives. *ἀδελφίδιον*: ἀδελφός 'brother.' Ar. Ran. 60, ὠδελφίδιον. *γράδιον*: γράς 'old woman.' Ar. Thesm. 1194, νὰ νὰ, γράδιο, Ἐμοὶ κάρισο<sup>2</sup> σὺ τοῦτο. ib. 1210, Ὡ γράδι', ὡς καρίεντό<sup>2</sup> σοι τὸ τυγάτριον.<sup>2</sup> *θεραπαινίδιον*: θεραπαινίς, θεραπαινῶν 'hand-maid.' Luc. Pisc. 17, Οὐκοῦν ἐπάγωμαι καὶ τὸ θεραπαινιδίῳ τοῦτο συνοικιστάτω μοι ὄντε; *θυγατρίδιον*: θυγάτηρ 'daughter.' Pletho Laudat. Cleopae § 21 p. 14, ἐπὶ θυγατρίδι καλῶ τε κἀγαθῶ καὶ τῶν γονέων ἀξίῳ. *παππίδιον*: παππίας, πάππας 'papa.' Ar. Equ. 1215, οὐχ' ὄρῃς κενὴν (sc. τὴν ἐμὴν κίστην) Ὡ παππίδιον; Ar. Vesp. 655, Ἀκρόασαί νυν, ὦ παππίδιον, χαλάσας ὀλίγον τὸ μέτωπον. *πατρίδιον*: πατήρ 'father.' Ar. Vesp. 986, Ἰδ' ὦ πατρίδιον, ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίῳ τρέπου. Xenarch. frg. 3. 617, Αἴται (sc. αἱ πόρναι) βιάζονται γὰρ εἰσέλκουσί τε, Τοὺς μὲν γέροντας ὄντας ἐπικαλούμεναι Πατρίδια, τοὺς δ' ἀφάρια, τοὺς νεωτέρους. Theophil. frg. 3. 627 (3), Τευθὶς ἦν χρηστή, πατρίδιον, πῶς ἔχεις πρὸς κάραβον; *τεκνίδιον*: τέκνον 'child.' Ar. Lys. 889, Ὡ γλυκύτατον σὺ τεκνίδιον κακοῦ πατρὸς. *χοιρίδιον* 'little pigling.' Ar. Ach. 834 (the Megarian to his two little girls, who are to be sold as pigs), Ὡ χοιρίδια, πειρήσθε κἄν τις τῶ πατρὸς Παίειν ἐφ' ἅλ' τὰν μάδδαν, αἱ καὶ τις διδῶ.

b) Proper names. Those occurring in Old Comedy are all occasional formations occurring beside the regular name, just as the corresponding names in simple -ιον (§ 237 b). The later examples e. g. Βοῖδιον, are mostly permanent names, sometimes even formed from primitives which are not themselves proper names (cf. § 250). *Αἰγίδιον*: αἶζ, Eubul. frg. 3. 252 (3. 1). *Ἀμπελίδιον*: ἄμπελος, a courtesan in Luc. D. Mer. 8. 2. *Ἀφροδιταρίδιον*, Plato Com. i. lex. Sabbaitico p. 3. 1. *Βοῖδιον*: βοῖς. Anth. P. 9. 713. *Βοιωτίδιον*: Βοιωτός

<sup>1</sup> The mss. have *πηνιδίους*.

<sup>2</sup> Barbarisms for *κάρισο*, *χαρίεν*, and *θυγάτριον*.



'a Boeotian.' Ar. Ach. 872, ὦ χαῖρε, κολλικοφάγε Βοιωτίδιον. Δημα-  
κίδιον as if : \*Δῆμαξ : Δῆμος. Ar. Equ. 823, ὦ Δημακίδιον. Δημίδιον :  
Δῆμος. Ar. Equ. 726, ὦ Δημίδιον ὦ φίλτατον. ib. 1199, ὦ Δημίδιον,  
ὄρθες τὰ λαγῶ' ἃ σοι φέρω. Ἑρμίδιον : Ἑρμῆς. Ar. Pax. 382, Μὴ νῦν  
λακίσης, λίσσομαί σ', ὦρμίδιον. Μυρρινίδιον : Μυρρίνη. Ar. Lys. 872,  
ὦ γλυκύτατον Μυρρινίδιον. Ξανθίδιον : Ξανθίας. Ar. Ran. 582, μηδαμῶς,  
ὦ Ξανθίδιον. Σαιτιρίδιον : Σάτιρος. Stratt. frg. 2. 787 (1. 4), ποδοῖν  
σατυριδίων μακροκέρκων. It is not impossible that the word designates  
some kind of animal, in which case the suffix is an exponent of  
similarity. Cf. Meineke ad loc. Σωκρατίδιον : Σωκράτης. Ar. Nub. 223,  
ὦ Σώκρατες, ὦ Σωκρατίδιον. ib. 237, ἴθι νυν, κατὰβηθ', ὦ Σωκρατίδιον,  
ὥς ἐμέ. ib. 746, ὦ Σωκρατίδιον φίλτατον. Φοινικίδιον : Φοῖνιξ. Diog.  
Laert. 7. 3, τί φεύγεις, Φοινικίδιον; οὐδὲν δεινὸν πέπονθας.

C. Parts of the body (cf. § 238). δακτυλίδιον : δάκτυλος 'finger,'  
'toe.' Ar. Lys. 417, ὦ σκυτοτόμε, τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοὺς πόδας τὸ  
δακτυλίδιον πιέζει τὸ ζυγόν, Ἄθ' ἀπαλὸν ὄν. ὄφθαλμίδιον : ὀφθαλμός  
'eye.' Ar. Equ. 909, see § 245. τιτθίδιον (cf. τιτθίον) : τιτθός  
'nipple of breast.' Ar. frg. 2. 1084 (14).

D. Like ἀκουσματίον (§ 232) are: γνώμίδιον : γνώμη 'judgment.'  
Ar. Nub. 321, ἡ ψυχὴ μου πεπόνηται, καὶ λεπτολογεῖν ἤδη ζητεῖ καὶ  
περὶ καπνοῦ στενολεσχεῖν, καὶ γνώμιδι γνῶμην νύξας ἐτέρω λόγῳ  
ἀντιλογεῖσθαι. For Ar. Equ. 100, where is also found νοιδίον : νόος  
'thought,' see § 232 sub βουλευματίον. ῥησειδίων : ῥῆσις 'tale.'  
Anon. Cat. in Psalm. t. 1. p. 61. 34, τὸ αἰοιδίμον ῥησειδίων.

E. An apparent case of hypocoristic -ιδιον to express endearment  
for a thing is λαρκίδιον : λάρκος 'char-coal basket' in Ar. Ach. 340,  
τόδε τὸ λαρκίδιον οὐ προδώσω ποτέ. This is due altogether to the  
humorous personification of the basket. Cf. § 239.

F. The use of hypocoristic words merely to voice the mood of  
the speaker (§ 244 f.) even when the object designated by him  
is not the one to which the endearment is directed, is represented  
by Ar. Ach. 1036, where the farmer, when refused a drop of peace  
for help to get back his oxen, exclaims: Οἴμοι κακοδαίμων τῶν γεωρ-  
γοῦν βοιδίων. The motive is, of course, pity for himself, not for the  
oxen, as is shown by the Nominative case of κακοδαίμων. Less certain  
is Ar. Pax 387, where the chorus is pleading with Hermes: Μηδαμῶς,  
ὦ δέσποθ' Ἑρμῆ, μηδαμῶς, μηδαμῶς, εἴ τι κεχαρισμένον Χοιρίδιον εἴσθαι  
παρ' ἐμοῦ γε κατεδηδοκώς, Τοῦτο μὴ φαῦλον νόμιζ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ πράγματι.  
The suffix of χοιρίδιον may be caused by the entreating tone of the pas-  
sage, but it is not impossible that the idea is 'delicious little porker.'

## XXI. THE SUFFIX -αδιον.

316. Concerning this (mostly late) conglutinate cf. Lobeck, ad Phryn.  
74, Proll. 351 ff.; Schwabe, op. cit. 67 f.; Janson, op. cit. 46 ff.  
The earlier scholars largely doubted the existence of a suffix -αδιον,  
and wanted to refer all apparent cases to -ιδιον by assuming contrac-  
tion of an  $\bar{\alpha}$  of the stem with the  $\iota$  of the suffix. Cf. Buttmann, Ausf.  
Gr. Spr. 2. 443 n.; Janson, l. c. Lobeck, Proll. 353 f., suspects all  
occurrences of -αδιον<sup>1</sup> which are not adjectival and can not be ex-  
plained in this way, i. e. all except those which have a primitive in  
- $\bar{\alpha}$  or -αιον, from which he believes that a diminutive in -ιδιον would  
give -αδιον, following Eustath. 1552. 31, Ὅτι δὲ ὥσπερ σπηλαίου καὶ  
προσκεφαλαίου καὶ τυχαίου ὑποκοριστικὰ σπηλάδιον προσκεφαλάδιον τυ-  
χάδιον, οὕτω καὶ ἐλαίου ἐλάδιον, δηλοῦσιν οἱ τεχνικοί. Schwabe (l. c.),  
on the other hand, unreservedly admits the existence of -αδιον, refer-  
ring it to primitives in -αδ-. He assumes, as is his wont, that both  
parts of the conglutinate were independent diminutive suffixes.

317. The explanation of -αδιον from -ιδιον can not be upheld for  
several reasons. In the first place, it is not probable that an -αδιον  
< -αιδιον should have regularly been written without  $\iota$  subscript.  
Although  $\bar{\alpha}$  and  $\alpha$  were pronounced alike at the end of the Alexandrian  
period, and consequent confusion of orthography resulted in many  
cases, yet the scribes tried to distinguish between the two, and no  
doubt followed certain traditions of spelling which must usually have  
had a historical foundation; and the fact that the suffix -αδιον was  
regularly spelled without the  $\iota$ , while γράδιον was spelled with it, points  
to an original difference and discountenances the derivation of -αδιον  
from - $\bar{\alpha}$ -ιδιον. It is also improbable that the  $\bar{\alpha}$  of - $\bar{\alpha}$ - stems should  
suddenly have been habitually retained before an initial vowel of a  
suffix, although it is otherwise a firmly established habit of the  
language that  $\bar{\alpha}$  as well as the thematic vowel was dropped before a  
following suffixal vowel.

318. As regards the contention that -αδιον can be the result of  
the formation of a diminutive in -ιδιον from a word in -αιον, it may  
be said that this is phonetically impossible. -αι- + -ιδιον can not  
give -αδιον > -αιδιον, but -αιδιον; from σπήλαιον can come only \*σπη-  
λαιδιον; for if the  $\alpha$  of αι is short before contraction with another

<sup>1</sup> I. e. -αδιον as areal conglutinate, not when derived from a primitive in -αδ-.



ι, it must be short after it. The opinion of Eustathius is without the slightest value in this respect, because he, and doubtless his sources, belonged to such a late period that they had no direct knowledge of anything concerning quantity. If all of the words quoted by him really have -ᾶδιον, the reason must be sought in the analogy of ἐλάδιον, which comes from a primitive ἐλάα, not ἔλαιον, but could be referred to the latter, and then caused e. g. σπηλάδιον : σπήλαιον. There is, however, not the slightest indication that the -ᾶδιον, even if these words should go back to a period when the original quantities were still observed, ever did have a long ᾶ, and the formation of derivatives in -ᾶδιον from primitives in -αιον can be much more easily explained in a different way. Those neuters in -ᾶδιον which belonged to adjectives in -ᾶδος, were semantically related to those in -αιον from adjectives in -αιος, e. g. τὰ οὐράδια 'the tail parts' was equivalent to τὰ οὐράια, although one was not derived from the other, but both independently from the substantive οὐρά 'tail.' In such words the feeling of equivalence of -ᾶδιον and -αιον developed, and consequently, when the former gained currency, it could take the place of the latter in the words discussed, σπηλάδιον for σπήλαιον, προσκεφαλᾶδιον for προσκεφάλαιον, κοπάδιον for κόπαιον, probably γλυκάδιον for the neuter of γλυκάιος, and perhaps τυγάδιον for the neuter of τυγάιος, although it may have been formed from τύγη.

319. Since, then, these words may as well be explained with a short ᾶ, it may well be asked what evidence there is in the poets for either -ᾶδιον or -ᾶδιον. Leaving out of account κρεκάδι' of Ar. Vesp. 1215, which is plainly adjectival, and so could not have been admitted as evidence by Lobeck, there is only one passage which gives any cue as to the quantity of the α, and in that one (Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172) it is short in the word φηττάδιον. Lobeck (Proll. 354), however, since the short ᾶ made untenable his explanation that -ᾶδιον was contracted from -ᾶ-διον, emended in the interests of his theory. The verse in question runs thus: Καὶ φηττάδιος μετὰ κωθαρίων (mss. κωβιδαρίων), and the change to φητταρίος is all the worse because it assumes that a scribe would change from the more familiar -αριον to the less familiar -ᾶδιον, even though another word in -αριον occurred in the very same line, a condition which would lead us to rather expect -ᾶδιον to be changed to -αριον. In want of more evidence, then, we may conclude that -ᾶδιον had short ᾶ in a number of words, and probably in all, unless the analogy of ἐλάδιον had some influence.

320. As to the origin of the suffix, it will be seen that there is a close analogy to -ιδιον. There are several different strata, and the whole number of words may be roughly divided according to whether they come from adjectives in -ᾶδος or are patterned after substantives in -ᾶδιον, although these classes can not be separated with precision because the -ιον of the latter often has an adjectival meaning.

321. That there was a number of adjectives in -ᾶδος which were largely to be referred to adverbs in -δον, was already pointed out by Lobeck, op. cit. 351. So ἀμφᾶδιος : ἀμφαδόν, κατωᾶδιος : κατωμαδόν, ἐκταᾶδιος : ἐκταδόν. From verbal adjectives like ἀμοιβᾶδιος 'answering' i. e. 'alternate' : ἀμοιβαδόν the suffix was transferred to others like θνητᾶδιος 'deathly,' κλεμᾶδιος : κλέμμα, 'clandestine' (Plato), κρυπᾶδιος : κρύπτω 'secret' (Æschylus). It is by substantiation of such adjectives that there came into existence words like προσκεφαλᾶδιον 'that which is placed close to the head,' i. e. 'a pillow,' προσευχᾶδιον : προσευχή, 'a place for prayer,' τὰ οὐράδια (§ 318), τὰ κρεκάδια 'woven things,' i. e. 'tapestry' : κρέκω 'I weave.' Substantives of this kind came into contact with similar ones in simple -ιον on every hand, and thus prepared the way for complete semantic syncretism of the two suffixes.

322. On the other hand, substantives in -ᾶδιον which were derived from primitives in -ας -ᾶδος occur from the earliest times and with a large diversity of meaning of -ιον. Thus λαμπᾶδιον : λαμπάς is an instrument noun, χειμᾶδιον : χειμάς is 'that which is connected with winter,' 'winter quarters,' λιβᾶδιον : λιβάς is a place 'well supplied with moisture,' i. e. 'a meadow,' χειρᾶδιον : χειράς is 'a missile of the stone kind,' i. e. a stone used as missile, similarly λοπάδιον : λοπάς 'plate,' ἐμβᾶδιον : ἐμβάς 'a kind of shoe,' and φακάδιον : φακάς 'drizzling rain' is probably a diminutive. These words could give rise to a conglutinate -ᾶδιον in the usual ways (§ 285 f.). In the first place, some of them could be referred to other words than their real primitive in -ας -ᾶδος, e. g. alongside of χειμάς there exists χεῖμα (τὸ), to which χειμᾶδιον could be referred when the Nominative χεῖμα, but not the oblique cases were thought of. As a result there occur analogical formations like μνηᾶδιον : τὸ μνήμα, συρμαᾶδιον : τὸ σύρμα, σημάδιον : τὸ σῆμα. The rationale of the latter form was already partly understood by Eustathius 1675. 46, σήματος . . . ὑποκοριστικὸν κοινότερον εὑρηται σημάτιον . . . σημάδιον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἀκολουθεῖ μὲν ἀναλογία τῇ, χεῖμα, χειμᾶδιον, δοκεῖ δὲ ὁμοῦς ἰδιωτικώτερον εἶναι. Similarly λαμπᾶδιον 'torch' could be referred to λάμπη as well as to λαμπάς, and then caused the



transfer of -αδιον to other  $\bar{a}$  stems, e. g. ψητάδιον : ψήττα, κοράδιον : κόρη, πηγάδιον : πηγή, etc. Words in -αδ-ιον or -αδιον from adjectives could, of course, also exert a direct influence upon congeneric words in causing their whole ending to be transferred. Thus λαμπάδ-ιον, an instrument noun, could cause ἀκον-αδιον, γερμάδ-ιον as a name of a missile could influence ἐκτομ-αδιον, ἐμβάδ-ιον as an article of dress could give rise to πιλ-αδιον and ἀναβολ-αδιον, and τὰ κρεκ-αδια 'a kind of tapestry' evidently was the cause of τὰ ὑφάδια : ὑφή.

323. The spread of -αδιον was largely determined by formal analogy. Those words which have a primitive in -αιον or -ατ- have been mentioned above. The largest number, however, comes from  $\bar{a}$  stems<sup>1</sup>: ἀκονάδιον : ἀκόνη, ἀναβολάδιον : ἀναβολή, similarly ἐκτομάδιον, ἔρμαδιον, ἀκονάδιον : ἀκόνη, ἀναβολάδιον : ἀναβολή, similarly ἐκτομάδιον, ἔρμαδιον, κοράδιον, νεικάδιον, ὄσφραδιον, οὐράδια, προσευχάδιον, σειράδιον, σκηνάδιον, τυχάδιον, ὑφάδιον, ψητάδιον. There are also a few words which come from primitives in -ο-: βαθράδιον : βάθρον, γερράδιον : γέρρον, ἐρυθράδιον : ἐρυθρός (adj.), λεμβάδιον : λέμβος, πιλάδιον : πῖλος. From indeclinables in -α come ἀλφάδιον : ἄλφα and γαμμάδιον : γάμμα.

324. As may be expected from its heterogeneous origin, -αδιον, even though always one of the rarer suffixes, nevertheless is found in a great variety of uses. There is no tendency whatever to confine it to 'diminutives,' in fact the latter uses are found only in about one third of its occurrences. I subjoin a list of these words classified according to meaning.

I. *With verbal force.* κρεκάδια : κρέκω, 'the weavings,' i. e. 'tapestry.' Ar. Vesp. 1215, Ὁροφὴν θέασαι, κρεκάδι' αὐτῆς θαύμασον.

II. *Compound.* προσκεφαλάδιον : κεφαλή, προσκεφάλαιον, 'pillow.' Eustath. 1552. 32.

III. *'Belonging to,' 'connected with.'* ἐκτομάδ[ι]α : εἶδος δόρατος. Hes. (: ἐκτομή). προσευχάδιον : προσευχή, 'that which is used for prayer,' "locus in ecclesia ubi quis orans constitit, paullo elevatior." Ap. Leon. grammat. in Leone sapiente p. 480. τὰ οὐράδια (cf. τὰ οὐράϊα) : οὐρά, 'the parts belonging to the tail.' Geopon. 20. 27, κόχλων τὴν σάρκα λαβὼν χωρὶς τῶν οὐραδίων, ἐν αὐταῖς δελέαζε.

IV. *Instrument nouns.* ἀκονάδιον : ἀκόνη, a surgical instrument. Cod. Laur. 74. 2 Herm. 38. 281. βαθράδιον = βάθρον 'step.' Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 47.

V. *'Made of.'* γερράδιον : γέρρον, 'that which is made of plaited work,' 'mats' of plaited work. Hes., γερράδια : στρωτηρίδια.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schwabe, l. c.

VI. *'Provided with.'* ὄσφράδιον : ὄσφρα, 'that which has a (strong) smell,' a scent used to revive fainting persons. Eustath. 46. 3; Nicetas in Isaacio 1 n. 9.

VII. *Words which are equivalent to their primitives*, including some which might have been originally 'specializing.' ἀναβολάδιον (cf. ἀναβόλαιον) = ἀναβολή, 'a mantle, cloak.' Eccl. κοπάδιον = κόπαιον, 'a piece.' Ap. Ducang. λεμβάδιον = λέμβος, 'boat.' Const. Manass. Chron. 3766, ταῖς λεμβάδιοις τοῖς πυκνοῖς. πιλάδιον = πῖλος, 'felt cap.' Poll. 10. 158. σειράδιον = σειρά, 'chord.' Eustath. 1291. 31, 1923. 55. σπηλάδιον = σπήλαιον, 'cave.' Theopomp. Com. ap. Poll. 9. 16. ὑφάδιον = ὑφή 'web.' Schol. Eur. Hec. 463, κρέκη τὸ ἰδιωτικῶς καλοῦμενον ὑφάδιον.

VIII. *'Like' the primitive.* ἀλφάδιον 'that which is like the letter ἄλφα,' 'a rule.' Eustrat. Comm. ad. Arist. Eth. 6. 7. γλυκάδιον : γλύκαιον<sup>1</sup> (see § 318, end), probably originally 'that which has the nature of sweetness' (cf. γλυκεῖδιον § 315. IX), but euphemistically applied to vinegar. Etym. Mag. 626. 58, οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι τὸ ὄξος ἦδος ψασί, καὶ ἄλλοι γλυκάδιον. σκηνάδιον : σκηνή, 'not a real tent, but something like a tent,' 'tegumentum.' Anon. in Maji Spicil. Rom. vol. 2 p. 322.

IX. *Diminutives.* κοράδιον : κόρη, 'a little girl.' Hes., κόρριον : μικρὸν κοράδιον. μνημάδιον : μνήμα, 'a little monument.' Insc. Mapsuci ap. Lebas et Waddington 1499. νεικάδιον : νείκη (= νίκη), 'a little statue of victory.' Insc. Palaestin. CIG. 4558. σὺν νεικαδίοις καὶ μεγάλῃ Νείκῃ καὶ λεονταρίοις. πηγάδιον : πηγή, 'a little fountain.' Joann. Mosch. Prat. Spir. in Cotel. Monum. vol. 2 p. 429 A, πηγάδιον πάνυ μικρόν. σημάδιον : σῆμα, probably 'a little tomb.' Eustath. 1675. 46, see § 322.

X. *Hypocoristic words.* ἔρμαδιον : ἔρμηξ. Luc. Char. 1, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρός, ὃ φίλτατον ἔρμαδιον, μὴ καταλίπης με. ψητάδιον : ψήττα, 'delicious little flat-fish.' Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172, see § 315.

XII. A sub δραττίδιον.

XI. *Plant names.* ἐρυθράδιον 'madder,' 'rubia tinctoria' : ἐρυθρός 'red.' Schol. Nicandr. Th. 74. Perhaps ζοζζογάδιον, of totally obscure meaning and derivation, is also a plant name. Cf. Herwerden. Lex. Suppl. s. v.

XII. Obscure as to usage are γαμμάδιον (: γάμμα) and σερμάδιον (: σύρμα), Salmasius ad Vopisc. Aurel. 45. 543. τυχάδιον : τύχη 'fortune.' Eustath. 1552. 31, see § 316, 318. σωκάδιον : σόκη 'seal.' Lobeck ad Phryn. 74.

<sup>1</sup> Janson, op. cit. 47, wrongly derives the ending from Doric ἄδος.



## XXII. THE SUFFIX -υδριον.

325. The origin of this conglutinate has not so far been satisfactorily explained. The suggestion of Schwabe, op. cit. 68, that it is a conglutination of -υδ-αρ-ιον, can not possibly be correct because of the unwarranted assumption of syncope of the α. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 471, likewise maintains that the δ of -υδριον is the same as e. g. in χλαμύδιον, χλανίδιον, or βούδιον, but he makes no attempt to explain the origin of the ρ. Nevertheless it can be shown that in all probability the δ of -υδριον has nothing to do with any other suffixal δ in the Greek language. On the other hand, Brugmann is undoubtedly right in saying that the υ of this conglutinate must be derived from some υ stem, and, it may be added, the earlier a word which fulfills this condition occurs, the more likely is it to be the right pattern type; for -υδριον occurs already in Epicharmus, and so, together with -(ι)διον, is the very oldest of -ιον conglutinates. While now there is extant not a single word in actual -υδριον which has a primitive in -υ-, yet there is in existence a word which can not be separated in origin from this suffix, namely, the deteriorative θηλυδρία 'a woman-like fellow,' 'a sissy,' which has for its primitive the -υ- stem θηλυ- 'feminine,' and occurs already in Herodotus <sup>1</sup> (7. 153, θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ). This word most probably took the place of an original \*θηλυδριον with the same meaning, the change of -ιον to -ις being an example of a similar kind of humor as in Latin pusio or senecio (§ 267), in this case because of the additional sarcasm given to a deteriorative like \*θηλυδριον by fitting it out with a masculine ending. If, then, the pattern type of -υδριον has left any trace of its existence, it was \*θηλυδριον, and this form may be explained by the influence of the congeneric word ἀνδριον. After the latter, 'a being like a man,' but 'not a real man,' had come into use for designating an effeminate person, some one made a similar formation from the stem θηλυ- 'feminine,' which then had a double expression of the idea of effeminacy, and in forming this word he must necessarily have thought of ἀνδριον, with the result that he made the two words end similarly, i. e. he transferred to \*θηλυδριον not only the suffix -ιον but also the preceding -δρ-, which was the easier because the Nominative Singular of the primitive ἀνὴρ was also without

<sup>1</sup> The word also occurs Luc. D. Deor. 5. 3, and of animals in Arist. H. A. 9. 49. 631 b 17, Probl. 4. 26. 879 b 21.

the -δ-. This \*θηλυδριον could then be analyzed \*θηλ-ύδριον and give rise to other words like ξεν-ύδριον : ξένος. The δ of the suffix -υδριον is consequently nothing more than the inorganic δ of the oblique cases of ἀνὴρ which was purely a phonetic development.

326. On the formal side it may be noticed that -υδριον was in Classical times a particular favorite for -εσ- stems, four out of eight words in this suffix having primitives in -εσ- : ἐλκ-ύδριον : ἔλκος, μελ-ύδριον : μέλος, σκην-ύδριον : σκίφος, τεχν-ύδριον : τέχνη. In Herondas also σκελ-ύδριον : σκέλος.

327. As might be expected from its origin, the deteriorative shade of meaning is most frequent for -υδριον in Classical times, but the tendency to semantic syncretism with other 'diminutive' suffixes later effaced this, and from the beginning of the transmission diminutive and hypocoristic uses occur occasionally. Perhaps it is significant, however, that personal names in -υδριον are always deteriorative, for when using these the speaker was most liable to think of \*θηλυδριον or θηλυδρία.

328. Collection of examples, classified according to meaning.

I. 'Like' the primitive, only in σκην-ύδριον : σκίφος, 'that which is like a sword,' mentioned by Epicharmus frg. 42. 5 among παντοδαπὰ κογχύλια, and explained by Hesychius as εἶδος κογχυλίου (id., ξιφύδρια : κοχύλιαι). Since this is the only occurrence of this suffix in other than deteriorative, diminutive, and hypocoristic meanings, the above etymology would appear somewhat doubtful. Perhaps it was a remodelling of an old σκηνίδιον through popular etymology, which fancied it heard ὕδωρ 'water' (cf. the proper names Μεθ-ύδριον and Λειψ-ύδριον) in -υδριον, and considered it a fit suffix for a word designating a water animal.

II. Deterioratives. νησί-δριον : νῆσος 'island.' Xen. Hell. 6. 1. 12, καὶ γρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δῆπου ἡμᾶς ἀφρονωτέροις χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη καρπομένους. Isocr. 12. 70, ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ συνέπεσε περὶ νησύδρια τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἐξαμαρτῆν, ἃ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδ' ἴσασιν. ξενί-δριον : ξένος 'stranger.' Men. frg. 4. 206 (1. 3), Οἶον τὰ νησιωτικὰ ταυτὶ ξενύδρια. Πριамид-ύδριον : Πρίαμος. Epich. ap. Cram. Anecd. Ox. 4. 273. 9. σκελ-ύδριον : σκέλος 'leg.' Epict. 1. 12. 24, ἀνδράποδον, εἴτε δι' ἐν σκελ-ύδριον τῷ κόσμῳ ἐγκαλεῖς; σκην-ύδριον : σκηνή, 'wretched hut.' Plut. Mar. 37, ἀναπαύσασθαι μὲν ἔφη δεομένῳ τὸ σκηνύδριον ἐξαρχεῖν. τεχν-ύδριον : τέχνη 'trade,' cf. τεχνίον. Plato Resp. 475 E, τούτους οὖν πάντας καὶ ἄλλους τοιούτων τινῶν μαθητικούς καὶ τοὺς τῶν τεχνυδρίων φιλοσόφους φήσομεν.



III. *Diminutives.* ἐλκύδιον: ἔλκος, 'a slight sore.' Hipp. 829, ἐλκύδιον ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι κίνδυνος ἀναλιδές. κομύδιον: τὸ μικρὸν χωρίον Suid. (: κόμη). μελύδιον: μέλος 'song.' Used because of modesty (§ 213) in Theocr. 7. 51, ὄρη φίλος, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τοῦθ' ὅτι πρῶν ἐν ὄρει τὸ μελύδιον ἐξεπόνασα. νησύδιον: νῆσος 'island.' Isocr. 5. 145 (with accessory deteriorative idea), καίτοι τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους αὐτῶν ἴσμεν ἐν μικροῖς πολυχνοῖς καὶ νησυδίοις τὰς ἀρχὰς κατασχόντας. πολέδιον: πόλις 'city.' Hes., πολίχνια: πολύδρ[ε]ια. πόλις. σχολύδιον: σχολίον<sup>1</sup> 'scholium.' Tzetz. Lyc. 1414, εἰπεῖν τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα πάντα περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου σχολύδρια. τειχύδιον: τεῖχος 'castellum.' Xen. Hell. 2. 1. 28, ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια, an emendation for χεῖδρια. χερύδιον: χεῖρ 'hand.' Mosch. 2. 13, Μεκκύλα μὲν τήνῳ τὰ χερύδρια, μακρὰ δὲ βάλλει.

IV. *Hypocoristic words.* With the idea 'delicious' is found σκελύδιον, referring to a roast leg of chicken in Herond. 4. 89, Κοκκάλη καλῶς, Τεμεῦσα μέμενα τὸ σκελύδιον δοῦναι Τῷ νεωκόρῳ τοῦρνιδος. With the meaning 'fine,' 'elegant' (like ἀκουσμάτιον, § 232) occurs μελύδιον: μέλος 'song.' Ar. Eccl. 883, Μοῦσαι, δεῦρ' ἔτ' ἐπὶ τοῦμὸν στόμα, Μελύδιον εἰροῦσά τι τῶν Ἰωνικῶν. Bion 5. 2, Εἴ μευ καλὰ πέλει τὰ μελύδρια. For ἐλκύδιον in Ar. Equ. 907 cf. § 245.

V. The following words in -ύδιον either are merely mentioned by grammarians or are used in such a way that the precise force of the suffix can not be determined: αὐλύδιον (Arch. f. Pap. 1. 298 col. 1. 5 ff., cf. Herwerden sub παρχαυτίδιον), ἐλύδιον (Pap. Leyd. 10. 9. 26, see Herwerden s. v.), λεξύδιον (Schol. ad Dionys. AB. 857): λέξις, λογύδιον (AB. 1395): λόγος, νεανισκύδιον (Theognost. Can. 126. 28): νεανίσκος, τρωγλύδιον (Theognost. AB. 1425): τρώγλη, χαλκύδιον (id. ib. 1430): χαλκός.

329. According to Schwabe, l. c., δενδρύδιον: δένδρον, βαρύδιον: βάρος, and τοκαρύδιον 'usurula,' also had -ύδιον, but lost one ρ of the two by dissimilation. While this is possible for the first, because of the repetition of the group -δρ- in \*δενδρύδιον, the form χερύδιον makes the last two exceedingly doubtful. Cf. § 311.

<sup>1</sup> For the loss of the ι of σχολίον cf. § 352 n.

### XXIII. THE SUFFIX -ακιον.

330. The very common modern Greek diminutive suffix -ακι in words like ἀδελφάκι and παιδάκι<sup>1</sup> has its roots as far back as the Classical period, but it was no more than a mere beginning.

331. The origin of this conglutinate, like that of -ιδιον, is hardly to be sought in the addition of one living diminutive suffix to another; for the real diminutive -ακ- is exceedingly rare, and mostly found only in petrified remnants, in which it could no longer have been felt as a diminutive suffix at the very beginning of the transmission. And aside from this, the fact that most early words in -ακιον have non-diminutive meaning points to at least a partial origin from other words than diminutives.

332. Derivatives in -ακ-ιον from primitives in -αξ were found from early times, and in these -ιον could have any meaning which it had in other words. Several of these primitives are indeed prehistoric 'diminutives,' e. g. μεῖραξ: μειράκιον, δέλφαξ: δελφάκιον, and σκύλαξ: σκυλάκιον; but since no primitive without -ακ- existed beside these forms, and these must therefore have been faded 'diminutives' already at the very earliest stage of the language, -ιον derivatives like σκυλάκ-ιον could not have been felt any differently than κλιμάκ-ιον 'little ladder': κλίμαξ, or σωματ-ιον: σῶμα. Consequently -ιον after -ακ- stems was no more confined to 'diminutive' uses than after any other suffix. It is a suffix of appurtenance in κοράκιον: κόραξ, the name of a plant (§ 257 B); it means 'made of' in πινάκιον: πίναξ (§ 101 C); it designates similarity of age in μειράκιον: μεῖραξ (§ 148). Primitive and derivative were also sometimes equivalent: μράκιον = μύαξ, cf. Hes., ὄστρεον: μράκιον θαλάσσιον. συάκιον = σύαξ, a kind of fish. ψυδράκιον = ψύδραξ, 'blister,'<sup>2</sup> cf. Diosc. 5. 126, ψυδράκια τὰ ἐν κεφαλῇ. From words of this kind as well as 'diminutives' the separation of -ακιον as an independent suffix could take place.

333. The earliest word in -ακιον is πιντ-άκιον in Dinolochus ap. AB. 112. It comes from πίνττα and probably designates a kind of writing-tablet, so that it must have received its suffix from πινάκ-ιον, which had an -ιον meaning 'made of' flat-wood (πίναξ).

334. The next word in -ακιον is a real diminutive from the end of the Classical period: κλισμάκιον: κλισμός, 'a little couch,' in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schwabe, op. cit. 63.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible to take ψυδράκιον as a diminutive referring to a class.



CIA. 4. 682 c 28 (4th cent. B. C.), κλισμάκιον μικρόν. The cause of the abstraction of the conglutinate in this case probably was the etymologically related κλισμάκιον 'a little ladder,' which could easily suggest itself when the speaker was seeking for a diminutive of the associated κλισμός.

335. Patterned after ψυδράκιον 'blister' were two words which seem to have been formed directly from a verb: γλυσάκιον 'blister': γλυσσω, in Hipp. 133, and γλυάκιον 'blister': γλύω. Cf. Hes., φλυάκισα: τὰ ψυδράκισα.

336. Athenaeus 497 F quotes Crates and Philemon as authorities for a certain Persian cup called σάννακιον, beside which occurs the form σάννακρον (Athen. l. c.). Probably, unless one of the two is corrupt, σάννακιον was remodelled from σάννακρον through the influence of the congeneric βατιάκιον (§ 129 a): βατιάκη, and stands beside it in the passage from Philemon as quoted by Athenaeus.

337. Another late example of -ακιον is καψάκιον: γλωσσόκομον Hes. This is, however, probably not formed directly from κάψα, but is more closely related to the καμψάκης of the Septuagint, in as much as there either existed a by-form καψάκης to καμψάκης, as κάψα to κάμψα, or κάψα and καμψάκης were contaminated in the formation of καψάκιον. The -ιον was added by analogy to κιβώτιον or some other -ιον word designating boxes.

338. μανν-άκιον: μάννος, 'necklace,' is equivalent to its primitive, like most names of ornaments in -ιον. Cf. Schol. Theocr. 11. 40, ΜΑΝΝΟΣ δέ ἐστιν ὁ περιτραχήλιος κόσμος, τὸ λεγόμενον μαννάκιον. It was probably patterned after σαμάκιον (§ 145 B) or some word like it.

339. σπινθηράκιον (Greg. Nyss. vol. 3. p. 142, σπινθηράκιον μικρόν): σπινθήρ 'spark' is a diminutive, but it is not so certain that it is a real case of the conglutinate -ακιον, for there are in existence the derivatives σπινθηράκιον-ισμα- and σπινθηρακ-ώδης, which point to the existence of a \*σπινθηράξ which may be the primitive of σπινθηράκιον. On the other hand, these may be due to retrograde derivation from the latter.

340. Our conclusions may be summed up as follows: -ακιον had indeed begun to exist as an independent conglutinate in Classical times, but its productivity was very small, and, like -αδιον, it was not par excellence a deteriorative, diminutive, and hypocoristic suffix, thus differing from most other -ιον conglutinates. How the transformation to a living 'diminutive' suffix was accomplished, remains to be investigated on the basis of the latest periods of the Greek language.

## XXIV. THE SUFFIX -ισκιον.

341. Since -ισκιο- occurs in a large variety of uses, both diminutive and non-diminutive, it is to be expected that the conglutinate -ισκιον is also not a unit semantically, but all sorts of relations between its components are possible. It is, therefore, not at all certain that it is always due to an intensive accumulation of 'diminutive' suffixes, but other forces must also have played a part. We may divide the comparatively numerous words in -ισκιον which have both a primitive with and without -ισκιο-, and so may have been among the pattern types, into two groups, according to whether the word in -ισκιο- -ισκη- is itself a 'diminutive,' or is not felt as such, whatever its origin.

342. When the primitive in -ισκιο- is not felt as a 'diminutive,' the formation of an -ιον 'diminutive' is not different from that of any other 'diminutive' in the same suffix, and the fact that the derivative ends in -ισκιον is merely accidental. Strictly speaking, the suffix can not be called a conglutinate unless analogical formations from primitives without -ισκιο- show that it was felt as a single suffix. The most conspicuous non-diminutive use of -ισκιο- was the function of designating a primitive as 'like' the derivative, and from such words quite a number of real 'diminutives' in -ισκιο- were formed. Thus from ἄγκων 'elbow' comes ἄγκωνίσκος 'that which is like an elbow,' e. g. a bend in the pillar (LXX Ex. 26. 17), and from this is formed the simple diminutive ἄγκωνίσκιον, designating the 'little elbow-like bend' on the flute. From κύκλος 'circle' comes κυκλίσκος 'that which is circular,' whence the diminutive κυκλίσκιον, e. g. 'fine little round cake.' χιτωνίσκος is not a 'little χιτών,' but a short frock which differs so much from the ordinary χιτών that the latter name would not be applicable, and this word forms χιτωνίσκιον 'a little χιτωνίσκος.' In other words -ισκιο-, like -ιον, had become a suffix for forming names of vessels, usually without difference in meaning from the primitive. Thus κυλίσκη (Poll. 6. 95, 10. 66; Dionys. H. 2. 23) is equivalent to κύλιξ 'cup,' whence κυλίσκιον 'a little cup.' Similarly λεκίσκος (Hipp. ap. Poll. 10. 87) was the same as λέκος 'plate,' and formed the simple diminutive λεκίσκιον 'a little' plate. From καδίσκος, which when meaning 'jar' is equivalent to its primitive καδός, comes καδίσκιον, which designates a part of a spice-box, the -ιον being an exponent of the idea of similarity in addition to small size. From faded 'diminutives' in -ισκιο-



come κορίσκιον : κορίσκη, 'little maiden,' μαιρακίσκιον : μαιρακίσκος, 'puerulus,' also proper names like Βούσκιον (Anth. P. 6. 289): Βούσκος. Any of the words so far mentioned could be referred to the word without -ισκο- instead of to the immediate primitive with that suffix, and then gave existence to a conglutinate ισκιον which was no more emphatic than simple -ιον.

343. When the primitive in -ισκο- of a 'diminutive' in -ισκιον is itself a 'diminutive,' various causes may be operative. On the one hand -ισκο- may be changed to -ισκιον by the attraction of some associated word of the preceding group, e. g. τροχίσκιον 'little wheel' instead of the equivalent τροχίσκος (Arist. Mech. 848a 25) because of κυκλίσκιον. There are a few cases of real intensive accumulation of 'diminutive' suffixes. So certainly κοτυλίσκιον : κοτυλίσκος 'little cup,' in Ar. Ach. 459 (in the begging scene, cf. § 215), μᾶλλὰ μοι δὲς ἐν μόνον Κοτυλίσκιον τὸ χεῖλος ἀποκεκρουμένον, 'just one least little bit of a cuplet.' Similarly πινακίσκιον : πινακίσκος 'a little trencher,' in Antiphan. frg. 3 29 (1. 8), τοῦτο τοῦπικαίμενον Ἄνω τὸ μικρόν, τὸ πινακίσκιον. Other 'diminutives' in -ισκιον from 'diminutives' in -ισκο- are ἀσπιδίσκιον 'little shield' (= ἀσπιδίσκη, cf. Hes., ἀσπιδίσκος πελτάρια), βωμίσκιον 'little altar' (= βωμίσκος Hero Spir. 191), λιμενίσκιον 'little harbor' (= λιμενίσκος Gloss.), μελίσκιον 'fine little song' (= μελίσκος Alcman frg. 65), ναῖσκιον 'little temple' (= ναῖσκος Hero Spir. 191), τραγίσκιον, a childish hypocorism for τράγος 'hircus' (= τραγίσκος Theocr. 5. 141). Perhaps πυργίσκιον 'a little turret' also belongs here, in as much as the meaning 'little tower' rather than 'that which is like a tower' may be accidentally not quotable for πυργίσκος. If this is not the case, πυργίσκιον must be referred directly to πύργος instead of to πυργίσκος.

344. The suffix -ισκιον, abstracted from the words of the preceding two groups, had only a very limited productivity in forming words without intermediate form in -ισκο-, but there are a few examples. By congeneric attraction to χιτωνίσκιον is to be explained χλανίσκιον, diminutive of χλάνης 'cloak.' The four remaining words are all formed from neuter primitives: κανίσκιον '(fine) little basket': κάνεον, μαλακίσκιον 'little basket': μαλάκιον (see Gloss. s. v.), ῥηματίσκιον 'petty phrasicle': ῥῆμα, σκυβαλίσκιον 'worthless dung': σκύβαλον. This is due to the fact that neuters in -ισκον were avoided in the Attic dialect<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This fact led earlier scholars unreasonably to doubt the existence of -ισκον altogether, and the texts were emended accordingly. Cf. Janson, De Graec. Ling. Dim. in -ισκος 3 f., De Graec. Serm. Nom. Dim. et Ampl. 65.

after -ιον had been established as the neuter diminutive suffix par excellence. Thus μελίσκον in Alcman became μελίσκιον in Antiphanes. Probably the consciousness of the existence of the suffix -ισκιον together with the great similarity of -ισκον and -ισκιον caused incipient formations of the former rarer kind to become the latter as the more frequent in the course of utterance.

345. Since many words in -ισκιον arose by the formation of a diminutive in -ιον to a non-diminutive in -ισκο-, the pattern types of the former largely had a diminutive meaning, and this is by far the commonest function of the conglutinate. At the same time there are also a few examples with hypocoristic and still fewer with deteriorative meaning, but there is no tendency whatever to extend the use of -ισκιον beyond this to the more adjectival uses of -ιον. When, therefore, καδίσκιον 'part of a spicebox' seems to be 'that which is like a jar,' this is incidental and accessory to the diminutive idea, as is shown by the use of the modifying adjective λεπτός in the only passage where it occurs. There follows a list of examples classified according to meaning.

I. *Deterioratives.* ῥηματίσκιον. Plato Theaet. 180 A, ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρέτρας ῥηματίσκια ἀνιγγρατώδη ἀνασπῶντες ἀποτοξεύουσι. σκυβαλίσκιον, a very uncertain conjecture of Ahrens for Timocr. of Rhodes frg. 1. 6, ἀργυρίοισι σκυβαλίσκιοισι πεισθεῖς. χλανίσκιον. Aeschin. 1. 131, εἰ γὰρ τίς σου τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτα χλανίσκια περιελάμβανος καὶ τοὺς μαλακοὺς χιτωνίσκους, . . . ὄμαι ἂν αὐτοὺς . . . ἀπορήσαι, εἴτε ἀνδρὲς εἴτε γυναικὲς εἰλήφασιν ἐσθῆτα.

II. *Diminutives.* ἀγωνίσκιον. Hero Spir. 229 C, Ὅταν βουλόμενά τινας τῶν αὐλῶν φθέγγεσθαι, κατὰζόμεν τοῖς δακτύλοις τὰ κατ' ἐκείνους ἀγωνίσκια. ἀσπιδίσκιον. Diosc. 3. 105, παρ' οἷς ὁ καρπός, ὡς ἀσπιδίσκια διὰδιπλα. βωμίσκιον. Pap. Berol. 162. 12 (2d or 3d cent. B. C.), βωμίσκιον ἀργυροῦν μικρὸν τετράγωνον. καδίσκιον. Nicarchares frg. 2. 842 (1), πόλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ λέπτ' ἔχον καδίσκια Κυμινόδον. κανίσκιον. Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 91, ἄλλος δ' εἰσέφερε πλεκτῷ κανισκίῳ ἀρτῶν περιλοιπα θρύμματα. Ptol. ap. Athen. 2290, τὰ δὲ κανίσκια ἦν ἅπαντα χρυσᾶ. κοτυλίσκιον, see § 343. κυκλίσκιον. Diosc. 2. 105, Αἰνῶ διάρας τὰ κυκλίσκια (sc. τοῦ κηροῦ). Damocr. ap. Gal. vol. 14. p. 95. 9, ποίησον οὕτω λεπτὰ πάνυ κυκλίσκια. κυλίσκιον. Poll. 6. 98, κυλίσκιον δὲ ἡ σμικρὰ κύλιξ. λεκίσκιον. Hipp. 407, ῥοφήματα δὲ μήκωνος τῆς λευκῆς υποτρίψας, δόκσον λεκίσκιον, ὕδατι διεῖς. λιμενίσκιον. Synes. 165, τὴν τε ναῦν ἐνορμίζει λιμενισκίῳ χαρίεντι (Ἀζάριον ὄμαι καλοῦσιν αὐτό). μαλακίσκιον. Theod. Stud. 290 C, Ἀπεστάλλασιν



... ταδε τὰ δύο μαλακίσκια εἰς ὑπόμνημα φιλίας. *ναῖσκιον*. Pap. Ox. 521. 4 (2d cent. A. D.), *κεχρυσωμένον ναῖσκιον*. Cf. also *ξυ]λοναῖσκιον*, ib. 7. *πινακίσκιον*, see § 343. *πυργίσκιον*. Schol. Aesch. Sept. 158, *λιθάς, ἥτοι σωρὸς λίθων, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων, ἥτοι τῶν μικρῶν πυργίσκων τῶν ἀκροβόλων κτλ.* *τροχίσκιον*. Schol. Appol. Rhod. 1. 144, *τὸ κινούμενον τροχίσκιον ὑπὸ τῶν φαρμακίδων βυμβίον καλεῖται. χιτωνίσκιον*. CIA. 2. 754. 28 (349-344 B. C.), *χιτωνίσκιον καρτὸν παιδεῖον. χλανίσκιον*. Ar. Ach. 519, *ἀνδράρια μαχθηρὰ . . . Ἐσσυκοφάντει Μεγαρέων τὰ χλανίσκια* ('the very coats of the Megarians,' cf. § 216). CIA. 2, 754. 40, *παιδίου χλανίσκιον λευκὸν καρτὸν*.

III. *Hypocoristic words*. The idea 'fine,' 'elegant,' as in *ἀκουσμάτιον* (§ 232), is found in *μελίσκιον*, Antiphan. frg. 3. 119, *ἀλλὰ καὶ λογιμὸς εἰς μέσον Παταξάτω τις καὶ τι καὶ μελίσκιον, Στροφὴ λόγων παρελθέτω τις*. Due to endearment are probably, besides proper names like *Βοῖσκιον*, *κορίσκιον*, Poll. 2. 17, and the childish *τραγίσκιον* in Hesychius, if the text is correct: *ἐξάγω χολὸν τραγίσκ[ι]ον, παιδιᾶς εἶδος παρὰ Ταραντίνους*.

## XXV. THE SUFFIXES -αλ(λ)ιον AND -ελλιον.

346. Of the former Schwabe (op. cit. 85) brings forth only *κοράλ(λ)ιον*, *κουράλιον*, *κοράλιον*, for which he quotes three passages from Hesychius: *κοράλιον· παιδάριον, κόριον. δαγύς· κουράλλιον, νόμφη λευκόκηρος. γέλιγα· πήνη, σπάθαι, κουράλια*. Also Alciph. 1. 39, *Ὅπως δ' ἤξει φέρουσα κήτιον καὶ κοράλλιον, καὶ τὸν σὸν Ἄδωνιν, ὃν νῦν περιψύγεις· μετὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐραστῶν κραιπαλήσομεν*. Here he translates *κοράλλιον* 'imagunculam Adonidis.' The same word elsewhere repeatedly designates a coral: Theophr. Lap. 38; Luc. Pro Merc. Cond. 1; Diosc. 5. 139. While the origin of the latter meaning is obscure, the former seems to point to *κοράλ(λ)ιον* etc. as a diminutive or hypocorism to *κόρος* (*κοῦρος*, *κῶρος*), and since there is no primitive in -αλ(λ)ιο- to be found, it makes probable the existence of a real diminutive conglutinate -αλ(λ)ιον, which is also found in *σπυριδάλιον* 'a little basket': *σπυρίς*. Cf. Pallad. Laus. p. 93, *Ἄλλος πλέκων σπυρίδας τὰς μεγάλας, ἄλλος τὰ λεγόμενα μαλάκια, τὰ σπυριδάλια τὰ μικρά*.

347. With such a meager material it is, of course, impossible to determine with accuracy the starting-point of the suffix, but it cer-

tainly can not be a conglutination of diminutive -αλο- + -ιον, as is claimed by Schwabe (op. cit. 62); for there is not the slightest trace of a diminutive -αλο- in the Greek language, and the words given by him as examples are either not diminutives at all, or, if so originally, had lost that meaning before their first appearance; so e. g. he mentions as diminutives (p. 82 ff.) *κόκκαλος*, *κρύσταλλος*, *νεκύδαλος*, *ὀκταλλος*, *σάνδαλον*. Even if a word of this kind should be a remnant of I. E. diminutive -l-, this would not affect the origin of the post-Classical Greek -αλιον. This must have been abstracted by the process of wrong analysis from words like *σανδάλιον*: *σάνδαλον*, *στυάλιον*: *στυάλη*, *κεφάλιον*: *κεφαλή*, *ρόπαλιον*: *ρόπαλον*, *φιάλιον*: *φιάλη*. Since there are extant no collateral forms of any one word with and without -αλο-, it can not be decided which word or words were the real patterns; for there is not one among them that would seem sufficiently associated with *κοράλ(λ)ιον* or *σπυριδάλιον* to cause direct transfer of endings, unless *φιάλιον* 'a little bowl' influenced *σπυριδάλιον* 'a little basket.'

348. The evidence for the conglutinate -ελλιον, which Schwabe also considers to be derived from two independent diminutive suffixes, is so doubtful that its existence may with great probability be denied. In the first place, a few Latin loan-words must be removed from the list. When Latin words in -ello- or -ella- were admitted into Greek, it was natural that they should often be remodelled by the influence of some congeneric Greek word or, if they were 'diminutives,' by the addition of a suffix that would be recognized as 'diminutive' in Greek. Thus the Latin flabellum 'fan' became Gr. *φλαβέλλιον* through the influence of Greek instrument nouns in -ιον, and similarly flagellum 'whip' became *φλαγέλλιον*. Through association with other names of vessels in -ιον Lat. patella sometimes became *πατέλλιον*, though *πατέλλα* also occurs.

349. It is not impossible that -ελλιον should have been transferred from such words to congeneric native Greek words, and thus caused the abstraction of a suffix -ελλιον, but there is no decisive evidence that this was really ever done. Thus Schwabe mentions *κρικέλλιον* as a diminutive of *κρίκος* 'circle' in Alex. Trall. cap. De Dolore Colico 9 p. 165, *Λαβὼν δακτύλιον σιδηροῦν ποίησον γενέσθαι τὸ κρικέλλιον αὐτοῦ ὀκτάγωνον*. But the primitive *κρίκελλος* occurs also, and not in diminutive meaning. Cf. Gl. ex Actis Sylvestri Papae p. 271, *πυλαὶ χαλκαῖ ἔχουσιν κρικέλλους*. Similarly *σακέλιον*<sup>1</sup> is not formed from *σάκος*, but from *σακέλα*. Cf. Hes., *σακέλα· ὅπου τὸ χρυσίον*

<sup>1</sup> Spelled with -λλ- Photius 496. 20.



τίθεται. σκαλίον· ὁμοίως. Since, then, these two words are also no evidence for a conglutinate -ελ(λ)ιον, there is but one very doubtful word left: τὰ μαργέλλια 'a kind of palm-tree with fruit like a pearl,' which is a conjecture for the msc. ἀργέλλια in Cosmas Indicop. 11 c. 9. Passow also has μαργέλλιον 'a pearl,' but gives no citation. Of this word there exists a Greek primitive neither with nor without -ελ(λ)ιο-, so that it is much safer to reconstruct a primitive \*μαργέλλα than \*μάργα, and then to argue the existence of a conglutinate -ελλιον merely on the basis of a hypothetical word. Much more probably, however, μαργέλλιον, if it actually existed, was a borrowed word, perhaps also from the Latin, since margella, though with the meaning 'coral,' occurs in the Gloss. Gr. Lat.

350. Unless better evidence is brought forth, the conglutinate -ελ(λ)ιον was consequently a non-entity, but even if we admit its existence, its origin from Latin loan-words is much more probable than the assumption of a double diminutive suffix (Schwabe p. 62). This is impossible for the same reason as for -αλ(λ)ιον, namely, that -ελ(λ)ιο- does not occur as a living diminutive suffix at any period of the Greek language. Schwabe (p. 39) could only quote κύπελλον 'cup,' νεφέλη 'cloud,' σκόπελος 'rock,' the proper names Ὀκελλος and Μύσ-κελος, and even πέμπελος and (doubtfully) ἄγγελος 'messenger!' For the whole question of Greek diminutives in l suffixes other than with υ see Janson, op. cit. 83.

## XXVI. THE SUFFIX -υλλιον (-υλιον).

351. With the above explanation of the origin of the suffix -υδριον (§ 325) Brugmann's suggestion (Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 376, 471) that the -υλλιον in words like ξενύλλιον is derived from \*-υδλιον loses its only support: for, if the δ of -υδριον comes from the inorganic δ in ἀνδρίον, it is impossible to use it as an analogical support for \*-υδλιον, which presupposes a suffixal -υδ-. We may then return to the usual explanation that -υλλιον = -υλλο- + -ιον, and that -υλλο- comes from -υλο- by the same doubling of consonants as in the hypocoristic forms of proper names.<sup>1</sup> Those appellatives which are used like proper names in address, e. g. τίτη 'nurse,' or γύνις 'effeminate person,'<sup>2</sup> point out the way by which -υλλο- < -υλο- was transferred from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, l. c.

proper names like Βαθύλλος to personal appellatives, and it is by the addition of -ιον to one of these that the suffix -υλλιον must have arisen. After it had once grown into a single 'diminutive' suffix in these personal names, it would naturally be put on a par with other 'diminutive' suffixes, with the result that its use was extended to words designating things, e. g. ἀνθύλλιον: ἄνθος 'flower.'

352. In no case does there exist a primitive in -υλλο- beside the word in -υλλιον, and consequently the primitive of the pattern type is lost. The pattern itself, however, can be determined with some certainty. It appears from above that it must be a personal appellative, and of these there are found only three: μαιράυλλιον: μαιράκιον 'youth,' ξενύλλιον: ξένος 'stranger,' and the late βρεφύλλιον: βρέφος 'infant.' A further indication is given by the fact that the suffix is used in deteriorative meaning in the great majority of passages, and aside from it only the hypocoristic use is found in the Classical period. This points to a pattern type in which the deteriorative use became in the nature of the case the usual one, and one in which it was intimately associated with hypocoristic meaning. This can only be μαιράυλλιον, which, though hypocoristic in origin, naturally became deteriorative in most cases, because the idea of effeminacy easily attaches itself to any term of endearment addressed to males when older than mere children. This μαιράυλλιον was derived from a primitive \*μαιράκυλλος which had within it already the same meaning, and the addition of -ιον was a case of emphatic doubling of suffixes. The existence of a primitive \*μαιράκυλλος is further made probable by the fact that μαιράυλλιον has no direct primitive to which it could be referred: μαιράκιον + -υλλιον would give \*μαιρακνύλλιον,<sup>1</sup> and it can not come from μαιράξ, because that only refers to girls (§ 148). Even the assumption that -υλλιον was substituted for the -ιον of μαιράκιον because the two suffixes were felt to be equivalent is out of place here because -ιον in μαιράκιον does not convey any meaning that is ever found in -υλλιον.

353. Of the prevailing deteriorative use of -υλλιον I have found the following examples: βρεφύλλιον: βρέφος 'baby.' Luc. D. Mer. 9. 5, ὡς βρεφύλλιος ταῦτα, ὃ μισθοφόρε, ἡμῖν λέγεις καὶ μωμολύπτει. id. Fug. 19, τὸ δ' ὀξύχολον καὶ μικράκιον καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν βᾶδιον ὕπες τὰ

<sup>1</sup> After \*μαιράκυλλος was lost, μαιρακνύλλιον must have been referred to μαιράκιον, and it is probably by analogy to this word that formations like παιδακνύλλιον (Theognost. Can. 126. 25): παιδάκιον were made. Similarly σχολέδριον: σχολίον.



βρεφύλλια τὰ νεογνά. ἐπύλλιον: ἔπος 'poem.' Ar. Ach. 398, 'Ο νοῦς (sc. τοῦ Εὐριπίδου) μὲν ἔξω ξυλλέγων ἐπύλλια Οὐκ ἔνδον, αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ Τραγωδίαν. id. Ran. 942, Ἰσχνάνα (sc. Εὐριπίδης) μὲν πρῶτιστον αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν τραγωδίαν) καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀφείλον, Ἐπύλλιοις καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ τευτλίοις λευκοῖς. id. Pax 532, ὅζει... ἐπύλλιον Εὐριπίδου. κρεῦλλιον: κρέας 'flesh.' Synes. 268 C, μὴδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι δεινὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τοῦ θυλακίου τῶν κρεῦλλίων. μειρακύλλιον: μαιράκιον 'youth.' Ar. Ran. 89, Οὐκ οὖν ἔτερ' ἔστ' ἐνταῦθα μαιρακύλλια, Τραγωδίας ποιῶντα πλεῖν ἢ μύρια, Εὐριπίδου πλεῖν ἢ σταδίῳ λαλίστερα; Epier. frg. 3. 368 (3), Τί γὰρ Ἐχθιον ἢ "παῖ παῖ" καλεῖσθαι παρὰ πότον, Καὶ ταῦτ' ἀγνεύει μαιρακύλλιον τινί. Eubul. frg. 3. 242 (1. 3), Τριβαλλοποπανόδρεπτα μαιρακύλλια. 'Merely a youth' (§ 167 f.) in Dem. 21. 78, μαιρακύλλιον ὦν κομιδῇ. id. 23. 163, ὁ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτῃς ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων μαιρακύλλιον ἦν. ξενύλλιον: ξένος 'stranger.' Plut. 2. 229 E, Λοιδόρουμένου δὲ τινος αὐτοῦ, εἶπε· λέγε πυκνῶς, ὦ ξενύλλιον, λέγε μὴδὲν ἐλλείπων, ἂν σου δύνῃ τὰν ψυχὰν κενῶσαι κακῶν, ὧν οἴκας πλήρης εἶναι. id. 2. 240 E, καταφθερεῖ σε, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, τὸ ξενύλλιον, ἐὰν μὴ τάχῃ αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβάλῃς. στεγύλλιον: στέγη, 'wretched hovel.' Herondas 7. 83, Μὰλ' εἰκότως σε τὸ στεγύλλιον, Κέρδων, Πέπληθε δαψιλέων τε καὶ καλῶν ἔργων. It is to be noticed particularly that the deteriorative-hypocoristic origin presupposed for the suffix above finds support by the large percent of examples where these two ideas are really both present. Thus the ironical use of a hypocorism is not only represented in some of the examples of μαιρακύλλιον just quoted, but also in the first example of ξενύλλιον. The examples of ἐπύλλιον, on the other hand, are cases of dramatic irony. It is supposed to be 'fine little poem' in the mouth of the speaker, but 'worthless poem' through the intrusion of the poet's personality. Cf. § 152, 243.

354. Alongside of the deteriorative and deteriorative-hypocoristic functions of the suffix the purely hypocoristic had not been given up entirely. So with endearment μαιρακύλλιον in Anaxandr. frg. 3. 175 (12), ὥραϊον δὲ μαιρακύλλιον Ποίαις ἐπωδαῖς ἢ λόγοις ἀλίσκεται Τίσιν; Com. Anon. frg. 4. 651 (188), Ἐνθα σταθεῖς φρές μ' ὥς τὸ μαιρακύλλιον. The Scholia to Dionysius (AB. 857) give *Πριαμύλλιον*: Πρίαμος as an example of using diminutives "ὁποθωπεύοντες." The meaning 'neat,' 'elegant' (§ 232) is probably found in *εἰδύλλιον*: εἶδος, 'idyl' (Pliny Ep. 4. 14), and certainly in *ἀνθύλλιον*: ἄνθος, 'beautiful flower,' Marc. Ant. 4. 20, σμαράγδιον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρον γίνεταί ἐὰν μὴ ἐπαινῇται; τί δὲ χρυσός, ἐλέφας, πορφύρα, λύρα, μαχαίριον, ἀνθύλλιον, δεινδρύριον.

355. After the Classical period the process of semantic syncretism

with simple -ιον caused the sphere of usage of -ύλλιον to be extended beyond the hypocoristic and deteriorative uses. In an inscription from Delos of the year 179 B. C. occurs *κεραμύλλιον*: κέραμος, κεράμιον. Cf. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 179, *κεραμύλλιον ἀργυροῦν Χῆον*. This word must be either a diminutive meaning a 'little vessel,' or the -ύλλιον has taken the place of the -ιον of κεράμιον, which originally meant 'made of.' A certain example of diminutive meaning is *ζωῦλλιον*: ζῶον, 'a little animal,' e. g. in Tzetz. Hist. 9. 957, Ἔστι καὶ τι ζωῦλλιον ψάλλαντα καλουμένη, Ὁ τοῖς λυγναῖς ἵπταται. In one word -ύλλιον has even taken the place of -ιον as an instrumental suffix, viz. *βαρύλλιον*: βάρος, an instrument for finding the weight of liquids, Synes. 175 A.

356. -ύλιον with one λ seems never to have gained independence as a 'diminutive' conglutinate. Ἡδύλιον (Plaut. Pseud. 187) is formed from an extant Ἡδύλη, which has become a permanent personal name, and κογγύλιον, of course, comes from κογγύλη 'mollusk.' For φαρύλιον see § 80. There remains κονδύλιον, which designates a cup, and which Homolle, BCH. 6. 116, surmises to be a diminutive to κόνδυ. This is hazardous, however, not only because it would be the only example of a conglutinate -(υ)λίον, but also because there exists as a possible primitive κόνδυλος. Just what the relation of primitive and derivative would be it would be useless to ask, but the latter, of course, could not be a diminutive to the former.

## XXVII. THE SUFFIX -ύνιον.

357. A conglutinate -ύνιον seems to occur in the one word *στηνύνιον*: στήθος, 'delicious little breast.' Cf. Eubul. frg. 3. 268 (15a 4) = Ehipp. frg. 3. 325 (2. 7), Πνίγειν τε παχέων ἄρνιων στήνυνια. Phryn. 384, *στηνύνιον ἄρνιου λέγουσιν οὐκ ὀρθῶς*. The hypocoristic meaning appears faded in Poll. 2. 162, τὸ δὲ στήνυν μέσον στήνυνιον. Also Insc. Att. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 633. 10, *παρέχειν δὲ καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὸ καθήκον, δεξιὸν|| σκέλος καὶ δορὰν καὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πόδας καὶ στήνυνιον*.

358. Unless a primitive \*στηνύνη is accidentally not quotable, στήνυνιον must have gotten its suffix by analogy to words like λαγύνιον: λαγύνη 'flask,' χελύνιον: χελύνη 'lip,' 'jaw,' more particularly the latter, because, like στήνυνιον, it designates a part of the body. If Meineke's conjecture for Epich. frg. 42. 2 is correct, there existed a form *τηθύνιον* 'a kind of mollusk,' which would point to a primitive \*τηθύνη beside τήθυον. In that case στήνυνιον could have received its -υνιον because of the great similarity of its root στήθ- to the τηθ- of τηθύνιον.



XXVIII. THE SUFFIX  $-(\delta)\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ .

359. As pattern types of the suffix  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  the following words are a possibility:  $\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ :  $\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\alpha$ , 'a kind of fox' (§ 142),  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ :  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\alpha$ , 'a pan of coals' (§ 80) or 'a little hearth' (§ 199),  $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (ap. Plut. 2. 668 B) deteriorative to  $\kappa\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  'caper plant,'  $\kappa\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  =  $\kappa\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\varsigma$  'cell of a comb' (§ 84 A),  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'wine,' 'poor wine,' etc.:  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$  'vine,'  $\varsigma\iota\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'a certain women's ornament':  $\varsigma\iota\sigma\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$  a certain plant (§ 145 B),  $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  =  $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\varsigma$  'basinet' (§ 131). Any of these words could give their  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  to associated words by the force of congeneric attraction, e. g.  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'a pan of coals' could cause  $\lambda\epsilon\beta\eta\tau\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'a caldron,'  $\eta\theta\upsilon\mu\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'sieve,' etc.:  $\varsigma\iota\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , a name of a women's ornament, could give rise to  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\tau\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'ear-ring,' or  $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'ornament.' Probably the greatest part, however, in the creation of the new suffix was played by  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . Originally it must have been 'a little vine' or merely 'wine,' being formed from  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$  with the idea 'that which comes from the vine.' This double nature as a diminutive to  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$  and as a synonym to  $\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$  could cause contamination of the two meanings, so that  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  was felt as a 'diminutive' to  $\omicron\nu\iota\varsigma$  'wine,' and then the abstraction of the suffix  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  was inevitable. The original adjectival nature of  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  presupposed by its derivation as 'that which comes from the vine' receives support from its use as a real adjective in Antiphanes frg. 3. 75 (2. 4),  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ . Whether the last word is retained, so that we may translate  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  as 'a kind of wine,' i. e. 'a poor excuse for wine,' or whether  $\eta\theta\omicron\varsigma$  is substituted with the idea 'vinegar belonging to the category of wine,' the adjectival nature of  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  remains the same.

360. Adjectival in origin was also  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'a pan of coals,' clearly a substantivation from the adjective  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  'belonging to the hearth.' This feeling for the connection between adjective and the suffix  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  could crop out again and again in later times, and no doubt had some influence in giving to the latter its large sphere of meaning. We have actual late evidence of the feeling for this relation in the use of the phrase  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  exactly parallel to  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  and  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  in inscriptions from Delphi CB. 1703. 2.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  and  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  in inscriptions from Delphi CB. 1703. 2.  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\delta\upsilon\omicron$   $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta$ . ib. 1898. 2,  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$   $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\rho\iota\alpha$  [v]. In a late Boeotian inscription (after 212 A. D.) ap. Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 740. 8  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  is actually considered an adjectival suffix, and forms the secondary

adjective  $\sigma\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  'rough,' perhaps because of the deteriorative element in the primitive  $\sigma\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ :  $\xi\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$   $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\eta$   $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$   $\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$   $\sigma\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda[\alpha]\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\pi\lambda(\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\rho\omega\nu)$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$ . Cf. also  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$  'a maker of pastry cakes' (CIG. 9311):  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  =  $\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ .

361. With the  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  originating as above must not be confounded the late suffix which is the representative of Lat.  $-\bar{a}rium$  or  $-\bar{a}rius$ . Thus  $\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  ( $\sigma\omega\delta\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ) comes from the Lat.  $sudarium$ ,  $\pi\omega\mu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (Arch. f. Pap. 1. 129 n. 2) from  $pomarium$ ,  $\varsigma\iota\gamma\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (Marc. Ant. 7. 3) from  $sigillarium$ ,  $\delta\eta\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  is adapted from Lat.  $denarius$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  (Insc. Calymna Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 869. 6, Smyrna ib. 871. 6) from  $assarius$  =  $as$ .

362. It is to be expected even a priori that a suffix which separated from a variety of prototypes in which  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  had a large diversity of meaning, will carry with it a corresponding variety of significations. The meaning 'belonging to' in  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , 'like the primitive' in  $\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , the use of  $\kappa\upsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\varsigma\iota\sigma\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , and  $\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  in meanings which do not differ from those of their primitives, the diminutive use of  $\xi\sigma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ , and the deteriorative use of  $\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  would all be of influence in extending the function of the suffix as found in themselves. Other meanings which did not happen to be represented among the pattern types could follow because of semantic syncretism with other suffixes, and so  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  became equivalent to  $-\iota\omicron\nu$  in practically all of those denominative uses which were felt as being related to each other. This excludes, of course, the abstract and verbal formations, and on the whole the compounds, though the attraction of congeneric words is a bridge to the latter which has been crossed by at least one word:  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\tau\text{-}\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  'ear-ring.' Cf. Hes.,  $\beta\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\tau\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ .

363. While  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  is thus far from being strictly a 'diminutive' suffix, yet the deteriorative, diminutive, and hypocoristic uses, as also in case of  $-\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ , are comparatively more strongly represented than in simple  $-\iota\omicron\nu$ , particularly in earlier times, for it is natural that the assimilation of meanings should progress further in course of time. H. Stephanus, and later Janson (op. cit. 76), maintained that the suffix had a special predilection for the deteriorative use, and there is some truth in this when compared to  $-\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  or simple  $-\iota\omicron\nu$ . While the diminutive use of the latter suffixes is found very much more frequently than the deteriorative, the two meanings are nearly on a par in the examples of  $-\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ . There is, however, no tendency to extend the latter to such proportions as to outweigh all others put together, as was the case with  $-\omicron\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  and  $-\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  in the Classical period.



364. Instead of -αριον -ηριον is occasionally written in one word, viz. ξυλήριον, e. g. Hes. sub. ῥόμβος. Since this spelling occurs a number of times, it was probably an actual form, which was contaminated from ξυλάριον and ξυλήριον (§ 380).

365. Like -αριον in meaning is the conglutinate -δαριον, which arose in words like βοιδάριον : βοιδιον. The habit of considering -αριον as equivalent to -ιον and of substituting the former for the latter could also be applied to words in -(ι)διον; for the popular consciousness would often not distinguish whether the δ belonged to the stem, as in παιδιον, or to the suffix, as in βοιδιον. Consequently there occur βοιδάριον for βοιδιον, ζωδάριον for ζωδιον, κωδάριον for κώδιον, βοιδάριον for βοιδιον. In the same way -αριον could be substituted for the -ιον of -ιδιον after consonants, and so we find βιβλιδάριον for βιβλιδιον, ἱματιδάριον for ἱματιδιον, κωβιδάριον for κωβιδιον, σηπιδάριον for σηπιδιον, χρυσιδάριον for χρυσιδιον. Since no words in -ιδάριον are found except beside -ιδιον, there is no evidence that a consciousness for a suffix -ιδάριον was ever developed, but an unmistakable -δαριον without preceding ι is found in μυα-δάριον : μυα.

366. *Collection of Examples*, classified according to meaning. For a few examples which are classified according to the original meaning of the -ιον of which the place is taken by -αριον rather than by the actual attitude of the speaker, see § 291.

I. 'Belonging to,' 'connected with,' sometimes approaching the possessive idea. *καλαμάριον* : κάλαμος, 'reed-case,' either 'that which belongs to the reeds' or 'that which holds the reeds.' Jo. Lyd. de Magistr. 2. 14. *λυχνιτάριον*, Suid. without gloss, but cf. the following *λυχνίτης λίθος*. *ῥινάριον* : ῥινός, 'skin-salve.' Paul. Aeg. 3. 22. *τονάριον* : τόνος, 'pitch-pipe.' Quint. 1. 10. 27. *χαλινάριον* : χαλινός, 'the cheek-ornament of a bridle.' Schol. Δ 142, παραγναθιδιον τὸ νῦν χαλινάριον καλούμενον.

II. *Names of instruments and tools*, particularly those which are equivalent to their primitives. *ἡθμάριον* : δωλίστηριον Hes., = ἡθμός 'strainer.' *ιστάριον* : ἱστός. Men. frg. 4. 111. (3), 'Ἐξ ἱσταρίου δ' ἐκρέματο φιλοπόνως πάνυ. *κλινάριον* : κλίνη. Ar. ap. Poll. 10. 32. *κοντάριον* : κόντος. Eustath. 1641. 8, Δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὸν ῥηθέντα Ὀμηρικὸν κόντην τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν κοντάριον ὑπεκρίσε. This shows that the primitive was not known later except in literature, and that no diminutive force could then have been felt in the derivative. *μοιτάριον* : ὃ χρῶνται ἱατροὶ ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς, πρὸς τὸ μὴ συντόμως ἐμφορᾶσθαι αὐτάς Suid. (relation to the primitive *μοιός* obscure).

*μυστιλάριον* 'spoon' = μυστίλη (cf. *κοχλιάριον* sub VII). Poll. 6. 87. τὸ δὲ *κοχλιάριον* καλοῖται ἂν μυστιλάριον ἢ *κοχλιώρυχον*. *σελλάριον* 'seat' = σέλλα. AB. 469. 23. *σμιλάριον* 'knife' = σμίλη. Paul. Aeg. 6. 73, Διελεῖν τὸ ἀπόστημα σμιλαρίῳ.

III. 'Made of,' 'consisting of.' *βιβλάριον* 'book' = βιβλίον : βίβλος. Anth. P. 11. 78. *λινάριον* 'net' : λίνον 'flax.' Eustath. 1452. 61. *λινάριά* τε καλοῦσι τὰ θηρατικὰ δίκτυα. *κοστάρια* a certain spice : κόστος the root from which it is made. Strabo 784. *φυκάριον* 'rouge' = φυκίον : φύκος. Hes., ἄφυκα· ἀκαλλώπιστα· παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν φυκάριον, ὃ βάλλουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς φιλοκαλίαν.

IV. *Words designating an indeterminate mass*, largely by analogy to some of the preceding group, e. g. *κοστάριον* and *φυκάριον*. *κνισάριον* = κνῖσα 'fat.' Etym. Mag. 522. 26, κνῖσα . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ κνίζω ὃ σημαίνει τὸ λεπτόνῳ· λεπτότατος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὃ ἐπιπλοῦς, τουτέστι τὸ λεγόμενον κνισάριον. *μιλτάριον* = μίλτος 'red earth,' 'red lead,' etc. Pap. mag. bibl. nat. Par. (W.) 2220. *μυζάριον* = μύζα 'discharge from the nose,' 'mucus.' Marc. Ant. 4. 48, 6. 13. *χυλάριον* = χυλός 'juice.' Marc. Ant. 6. 13, ὃ Φάλερνος χυλάριόν ἐστι σταφυλίου. Cf. also *σπογγάριον* sub VII.

V. *Generalizing*. *κογχάριον* : κόγχη, 'a kind of muscle.' Diosc. 2. 9, Καὶ ὃ ἐκ τῶν γηγῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κογχάριον ζωμὸς κοιλίαν κινεῖ ἐψόμενος μετὰ ὀλίγου ὕδατος. *κοσμάριον* : κόσμος, 'a kind of ornament.' Hes., *καμακίς*· κοσμάριον ὃ τοὺς πλοκάμους περιέχει. Athen. 474 E, γυναικεῖον κοσμάριόν ἐστιν κἀνθαρος. *κυνάρια* : κύων, 'the members of the dog tribe.' Plato Euthyd. 298 D,<sup>1</sup> καὶ σὺ ἄρα ἀδελφὸς εἶ τῶν βοιδίων καὶ κυναρίων καὶ χοιριδίων. Καὶ γὰρ σύ, ἔφη. Καὶ πρὸς ἄρα σοι πατήρ ἐστι καὶ κύων. *ὀρνιθάριον* : ὄρνις, 'a member of the bird tribe.' Anaxandr. frg. 3. 184 (1. 62), καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ὀρνιθαρίων ἀφάτων πλῆθος, Νηττῶν, φαττῶν· χῆνες, στρουθοί, Κίχλαι, κόρυδοι, κίτται, κύκνοι, Πελεκᾶν, Κίγκλοι, γέρανος. *ὀψάριον* : ὀψον, 'a kind of meat or fish.' Lync. frg. 4. 433 (21), Ὀψάριον αὐτὸ τοῦτο παραθήσεις μόνον, ἵνα ταῦτά πάντες, μὴ τὸ μὲν ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἕτερος. *πολτάριον* : πόλτος, 'a kind of porridge.' Diosc. 2. 114, ἐστὶ δὲ ῥόφημα ὡς πολτάριον ὑγρόν, παιδίῳις ἀρμόδιον. *ριζάριον* : ῥίζα, probably 'a kind of root,' though possibly a diminutive. Hes., βρενθινά· ριζάριά τινα, οἷς ἐρυθραίνονται αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς παρειάς. *σκευάριον* : σκεῦος. a) 'everything belonging to one's equipment' (in Plural). Ar. Thesm. 738, Ὡ μέγα καπήλοις

<sup>1</sup> That *κυνάριον* was used as a diminutive in the following section does not prove that it needs must be one here, but only shows how similar was the attitude toward diminutive and generalizing meaning. Cf. *γλέβιον* § 185.



ἀγαθόν, ἡμῖν δ' αὖ κακόν, Κακόν δὲ καὶ τοῖς σκευαρίοις καὶ τῇ κρόκη. b) 'a kind of vessel or implement.' Ar. Ach. 451, ὧ θυμ', ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὡς ἀπωθεῖσθαι δόμων, Πολλῶν δεόμενος σκευαρίων. id. Pax. 201, Τὰ λοιπὰ τηρῶ σκευάρια τὰ τῶν θεῶν, Χυτρίδια καὶ σκινίδια κάμφορειδια. Alcaeus frg. 2. 832 (2), ἄλλα σκευάρι' οἰκητήρια. Combined with deteriorative meaning in Diph. frg. 4. 384 (3. 2), see § 166 sub ἐκπωμάτιον. c) equivalent to the primitive in Ar. Ran. 172, Ἀνθρῶπε, βούλει σκευάρι' εἰς Αἰδοῦ φέρειν; φυτάριον: φυτόν, either 'a kind of plant' or 'a little plant.' Schol. Ar. Av. 662, ἐκ τοῦ βουτόμου· φυτάριον παραπλήσιον καλάμῳ, ὃ ἐσθίουσιν οἱ βόες. Ἄλλως. φυτάριον παραποτάμιον.

VI. Words which are equivalent to their primitives, excluding those of II and IV, but including those which were originally 'specializing.' βοιδάριον = βοιδιον, βοῦς 'ox,' perhaps originally some generic idea like 'animal' was understood. Ar. frg. 2. 982 (27), βοιδαρίων τις ἀπέκτεινε ζεῦγος. δελτάριον = δελτίον = δέλτος 'tablet' (§ 101 C). Polyb. 29. 11. 2. ζευγάριον = ζεῦγος 'team,' originally with the idea 'animals of the kind for a team,' as is still possible Ar. Av. 582, Οἱ δ' αὖ κόρακες τῶν ζευγαρίων, οἷσιν τὴν γῆν καταροῦσιν, Καὶ τῶν προβάτων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκοψάντων ἐπὶ πεῖρα. Later the fine distinction was lost, and ζευγάριον = ζεῦγος. So Ar. frg. 2. 987 (8), ζευγάριον βοεικόν. id. frg. 1108 (1. 4), Κεκτημένον ζευγάριον οἰκεῖον βοσῖν. ζωνάριον = ζώνιον = ζώνη 'girdle.' Etym. Mag. 730. 57. Στρόφιον, τὸ στρογγύλον ζωνάριον. κωδάριον = κώδιον = κῶας 'fleece' (§ 315 VIII C) Cratin. frg. 2. 41 (8), Νακότητις ὥσπερ κωδάριον ἐφαινόμην. λεβητάριον = λεβήτιον = λέβης 'caldron.' Poll. 10. 66, 95. ληδάριον = ληδιον = λῆδος 'light dress.' Ar. Av. 915. σκυτάριον = Lat. scutum 'shield.' Cf. words in -ιον like ἀκόντιον and δοράτιον (§ 127). Hes., ἀσπίδα· σκυτάριον· ἡ ὅπλον. στιχάριον (cf. Lat. stica), whatever its origin, owes its suffix to words like ληδάριον. Liturgia Chrysostomi p. 70.

VII. 'Like, but not equivalent to the primitive.' ἀγωνάριον: ἀγών, 'something like an athletic contest, but not a real one.' According to Paton and Hicks IC. 43 it designates a kind of college examination or competition. Insc. Cos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 619. 25, 31, 35 = IC. 43. δισκάριον: δίσκος, 'that which is quoit-shaped,' 'a kind of basket.' Hes., κανοῦν· κανίσκιον. δισκάριον. δρυάριον: δρῦς, 'a plant somewhat like an oak.' Eustath. 1715. 52, θύνναι γὰρ ἱστοροῦνται ἐπέκεινα Σικελίας βαλανεφραγεῖν ἀπὸ δρυαρίων φυομένων κατὰ θάλατταν. ἱμαντάριον: ἱμάς, something that corresponds in some way to a strap or

reins; a naval term, and so hardly a diminutive. Hes., ἱμαντάρια· ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν οὕτω καλεῖται τινα. ἱππάριον: ἵππος, 'that which is like a horse,' 'a kind of bird.' Hes., ἱππάριον· ὄρνεον ποιόν, παραπλήσιον χηνάλωπεκι. κερατάριον: κέρας, 'that which is like a horn,' 'the yard-arm of a ship.' Eustath. 1037. 35, ἐπάριον τὸ κέρας τοῦ ἱστοῦ, ὃ κοινότερον κερατάριον καλεῖται. κοχλιάριον: κόχλος, 'that which is like a shell,' 'a spoon.' Poll. 6. 87, see II sub μυστιλάριον. Diosc. 2. 50, ὑδρομέλιτος κοχλιαρίων δουσὶν πλῆθος. πι-τ-άριον: πῖ, 'a figure like the letter II.' For the τ cf. βω-τακισμός and σιγμα-τίζω. Math. Vett. p. 116, 117. πλοιάριον: πλοῖον, 'that which is like a boat,' a sort of women's shoe (cf. ἀκάτιον, § 145 A). Poll. Ar. ap. 7. 93. σπογγάριον: σπόγγος, a 'spongy' substance, i. e. a kind of eye-salve. Alex. Trall. 2. 127. χιτωνάριον = χιτώνιον (cf. § 145 A). Men. frg. 4. 287 (241), διαφανὲς Χιτωνάριον ἔχουσα. Eustath. 1166. 52, χιτώνιον καὶ χιτωνάριον λεπτόν ἐνδυμα γυναικεῖον πολυτελές. χιτωνίσκάριον, 'a garment like a χιτωνίσκος, but not a real one' because shorter. Eustath. 1166. 52, ὃ δὲ ἀνδρεῖος, χιτωνίσκος, ὃ τινες ἐπενδύτην· τὸ δὲ βραχὺ χιτωνισκάριον. ὠτάριον: ὠς, ὠτός, 'that which is like an ear,' 'a handle of a vase.' Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 27, ὠταρίων κλάσματα καὶ πυθμένων. ib. 147, ὠταρίων κλασμάτα. It designates a shell-fish in Athen. 87 F. An alternate name is ὠς Ἀφροδίτης.

A special group of words in -αριον also is composed of words designating an image or likeness, which are often on the border line between this class and diminutives (cf. § 146). No idea of small size, however, could be connected with ἑρμάριον (Etym. Mag. 146. 57) when referring to the ordinary busts of Hermes. On the other hand, the following words may have been partially felt as diminutives: γλωσσάριον: γλῶσσα, 'an image of a tongue.' Pap. Berol. 162. 2 (2 d or 3 d cent. A. D.), γλωσσάρια χρυσᾶ, among gifts in a temple. λεοντάριον: λέων, 'statue of a lion.' Insc. Palest. CIG. 4558. σεληνάριον: σελήνη, 'an image of the moon.' Pap. Berol. 162. I (2 d or 3 d cent. A. D.), among gifts in a temple. ὠτάριον 'an image of an ear.' CIA. 2. 836 c-k 48 (270-262 B. C.), ὠτάρια δύο Νίκης [F] III. ib. 54, ὠτάρια Θεμιστίου III.

VIII. Deterioratives. A. Referring to an individual as compared to a class. ἀνδράριον: ἀνὴρ 'man,' cf. ἀνδρίον. Ar. Ach. 517, οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω, Ἄλλ' ἀνδράρια μοχθηρά, παρακεκομμένα, Ἄτιμα καὶ παράσημα καὶ παράξενα. ἀνθρωπάριον: ἄνθρωπος, 'man,' cf. ἀνθρώπιον. Ar. Plut. 416, ὧ θερμὸν ἔργον κἀνόσιον καὶ παράνομον Τολμῶντες δρᾶν ἀνθρωπαρίω κακοδαίμονε. Demad. 43, ὃ Δημοσθένης ἀνθρωπάριον ἐκ



συλλαβῶν καὶ γλώσσης συγκείμενον. *δοξάριον*: δόξα 'fame.' Luc. D. Mort. 15. 2, ἀγνοῶν τὸ δύστηνον ἐκεῖνο *δοξάριον* προετίμων (sc. Ἀχιλλεύς) τοῦ βίου. Hes., *δοξαρίοις*: εὐτελέσι δόγμασιν, ὑπ' ἐνίων ὑποκοριστικῶς. *ἵππαριον*: ἵππος 'horse.' Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 19, ἀλλ' οὖν πονηροὶ γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἵππαριων ἄγουσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα. *λογάριον*: λόγος 'word.' Theogn. frg. 4. 548 (2), Ἀνδρῶπ', ἀπολεῖς με· τῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ποικίλης Στοᾶς *λογαρίων* ἀναπλησμένος νοσεῖς. Dem. 19. 255, σὺ δὲ . . . *λογάρια* δύστηνα μελετήσας καὶ φωνασκήσας, οὐκ οἶσι δίκην δώσειν τηλικούτων καὶ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων; *λογχάριον*: λόγχη 'spearhead.' Posid. Phil. ap. Athen. 176 B, παραζωνίδια καὶ *λογχάρι* ἀνειληφότες ἰθὺ καὶ ῥύπω κεκρυμμένα. *μυθάριον*: μῦθος 'talk.' Strabo 616, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ γραμματικοὶ *μυθάρια* παραβάλλοντες εὐρεσιλογοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ λύουσι τὰ ζητούμενα. *οἰνάριον*: οἶνος, 'thin or poor wine.' Apollodor. Caryst. frg. 4. 448 (1), τὸ γ' οἰνάριον πᾶν Ἦν δὲ καὶ πονηρόν, ὥστ' ἡσυχνόμεν. Polioch. frg. 4. 590 (7), πῖν οἰνάριον ἦν ἀμφίβολον (doubtful whether wine or water). Dem. 35. 32, τὸ τ' οἰνάριον τὸ Κῶν ὀγδοήκοντα στάμνοι ἐξεστηκότος οἶνου. *ὀψάριον*: ὀψον 'fish.' Alexis frg. 3. 455 (2), see § 166 sub *τριχίδιον*. Phil. frg. 4. 38 (12), τὰ πετραῖα ταῦτ' ὀψάρια. Com. Anon. frg. 4. 670 (288), Τὰ πανοῦργα ταῦτ' ὀψάρια χύποτρίμματα. *παιδάριον*: παῖς 'child,' cf. παιδίον. Ar. Pax 1288, Κάκιστ' ἀπόλοις, *παιδάριον*, αὐταῖς μάχαις· Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄδεις πλὴν πολέμους. Ps. Plato Epigr. 31. 4, Ἄρει τὰ στωμάλα ταῦτα· Ἡμῖν δ' οὐ πέτεται τοῦτο τὸ *παιδάριον* (sc. ὁ Ἔρως). *σιτάριον*: σῖτος 'food.' Hipp. 1093, *σιταρίοις* τε πολλοῖσι καὶ φαύλοισι προσερχήτω. *σκευάριον*: σκεῦος, 'paltry garment,' 'wretched stuff,' etc. Ar. Vesp. 1313, ἀντήκασ' αὐτὸν πάρνοπι Τὰ θρεῖα τοῦ τριβωνος ἀποβεβληκότι, Σθενέλω τε τὰ σκευάρια διακεκαρμένω. id. Eccl. 753, Οὗτος, τί τὰ σκευάρια ταῦτα βούλεται; Plato Alc. 1. 113 E, σκευαρίων κατατετριμμένων. *σκητιάριον*: σκῆτος 'leather.' Anaxil. frg. 3. 345 (1. 6), Ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι φορῶν Ἐφεσθία γράμματα καλὰ. *ψυχάριον*: ψυχή 'soul.' Plato Resp. 7. 519 A, ἡ οὐπω ἐννεόγηκας, τῶν λεγομένων πονηρῶν μὲν, σοφῶν δέ, ὡς δριμύ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον;

B. Referring to a class. *γυναικάριον*: γυνή 'woman.' Marc. Ant. 5. 11, καὶ τίνας ἄρα νῦν ἔχω ψυχὴν; μήτι παιδίον; μήτι μεираκίου; μήτι γυναικαρίου; *γυπάριον*: γύπη, 'wretched nest.' Ar. Equ. 793, see § 315. X. B sub *πυργίδιον*. *κηθάριον*: κηθιον, κηθίς 'ballot-box.' Ar. Vesp. 674, ἡσθηνται τὸν μὲν σύρφακα τὸν ἄλλον Ἐκ κηθαρίου λαγαρυζόμενον καὶ τραγαλίζοντα τὸ μηδέν. *κυνάριον*: κύων 'dog.' Xen. Cyr. 8. 4. 20, προσάλλεσθαι σε δεήσει ὥσπερ τὰ κυνάρια. *κωδάριον*: κώδιον, κῶας 'fleece.' Ar. Ran. 1203, see § 166 sub *θυλάκιον*. *νεανισκάριον*: νεανίσκος

'youth.' Epict. 2. 16. 29, see § 315. X. B sub *γυμνασίδιον*. *ὀνάριον*: ὄνος 'ass.' Epict. 4. 1. 79 f. ὄλον τὸ σῶμα οὕτως ἔχειν σε δεῖ ὡς ὀνάριον ἐπισεσαγμένον. . . . ὅταν ἐκεῖνο ὀνάριον ᾖ, τᾶλλα γίνεται χαλινάρια τοῦ ὀναρίου, σαγματάκια, ὑποδημάτια, κριθαί, χόρτος. *παιδάριον*: παῖς 'child.' Ar. Nub. 821, *παιδάριον* εἰ καὶ φρονεῖς ἀρχαυικά. Men. frg. 4. 249 (49), παντάπασι *παιδαρίου* γνώμην ἔχων. *πελτιάριον*: πέλτη 'light shield,' and *τοξάριον*: τόξον 'bow' in Luc. D. Mort. 14. 2, Τίνων δὲ ἐκράτησας σὺ γε ἀξιωμαχῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὅς δαίλοῖς ἀεὶ ζυγνέχουης τοξάρια καὶ πελτάρια καὶ γέρρα οἰσύνει προβεβλημένοις; *τριβωνάριον*: τρίβων 'worn garment.' Clearch. ap. Athen. 258 A, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοιούτῳ κολακεύειν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν κολακευομένων ἐπακολουθεῖν ἀποπλάττεται παραγκωνίζων καὶ σπαργανῶν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τριβωναρίοις. *χαλινάριον*: χαλινός 'bridle.' Epict. 4. 1. 80, see sub *ὀνάριον*.

C. 'Merely.' *ὀπλαρίοις* (Dat. Pl.): ὀπλον, 'merely by means of their arms.' Plut. 2. 197 D, μὴ τοῖνον μὴδὲ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, θυμαρίζετε τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν, λογχοφόρους καὶ καταφράκτους καὶ πεζεταίρους καὶ ἀμφιποτοζότας ἀκούοντες· πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν οὗτοι Σύροι, ὀπλαρίοις ἀλλήλων διαφέροντες.

IX. *Diminutives*. 1. Referring to an individual as compared to a class. For the subdivisions cf. § 315. XI. 1. A. *παιδάριον*: παῖς 'child,' cf. παιδίον. Ar. Nub. 878, Εὐθύς γέ τοι *παιδάριον* ὦν τυννουτοῖν Ἐπλάττεν ἔνδον οἰκίας, ναῦς τ' ἐγλυφεν. Andoc. 1. 130, παρὰ τοῖς *παιδαρίοις* τοῖς μικροτάτοις. Arist. Oec. 2. 1347 a 17, ὅτῳ ἂν *παιδάριον* γένηται. Insc. Delph. CB. 1954. 7, καὶ ταύτας *παιδάριον* ὑποτιτθίδιον. *παιδισκάριον*: παιδίσκη 'girl.' Callix. ap. Athen. 200 F, παρανεβεβήκει δὲ *παιδισκάρια* δισκευασμένα *πελταρίοις* καὶ θυροσολόγχοις. B. *ζωάριον*: ζῷον 'animal.' Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1265, ὁ δὲ οἷστρος (sc. ἀπογεννᾶται) ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ποτάμοις ἐπιπλεόντων *ζωαρίων*. *ζωδάριον*: ζῳδίον, ζῷον. a) 'a little animal.' Arist. H. A. 5. 32. 557 b 1, Γίνεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα *ζωδάρια*, . . . τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐρίοις. id. ib. 9. 34. 619 b 22, Θηρεύει δὲ καὶ μῦς καὶ σαύρας καὶ σφονδύλας καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἄλλα *ζωδάρια*. id. ib. 5. 19. 551 b 21, Part. An. 3. 1. 662 b 9, 4. 12. 693 a 22. b) 'a little figure.' CIA. 2. 736 A 4 (after 307 B. C.), *ζωδάρια* μικρά. Insc. Delos Ditt<sup>2</sup>. 588. 31, *ζωιδάρια* ἀργυρᾶ || ἐν οἰκίσκῳ ξυλίνῳ. *ὄρνιθάριον*: ὄρνις 'bird.' Arist. Mirab. 118. 841 b 18, ἐπὶ θήραν τῶν ὄρνιθαρίων συνθηρεύειν παραλαμβάνουσι *ἱέρακας*. *πωλάριον*: πῶλος, 'a newly-born foal.' Plato ap. Diog. Laert. 5. 2, ἡμᾶς ἀπελάκτισε, καθάπερ εἰ τὰ *πωλάρια* γεννηθέντα τὴν μητέρα. C. *ὀσιάριον*: ὀστέον 'bone.' Anth. P. 11. 96. D. *κλωνάριον*: κλών 'twig,' cf. κλωνίον. Geopon. 12. 19. 9, οὐ βλαβήσεται ταῦτα ὑπὸ φυλλῶν,



ἐὰν κλωνάρια θριγάνου μικροῖς ἔτι οὔσι τούτοις παραπήξῃ. *φυλάριον*: φύλλον, 'a little leaf.' Diosc. 3. 176, βοτάνιον ἔχον φυλλάρια λεπτά. *φυτάριον*: φυτόν 'plant.' Athen. 210 C, see § 385 sub ζωύριον. F. *ἀνδριάνταριον* (Schol. Luc. Lex. 3) 'seal,' originally a diminutive of ἀνδριάς 'statue.' G. *λεκάριον*: λέκος 'plate.' Herm. ap. Athen. 149 F, ἔπειτα ἐκάστω παρατίθεται ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἰς πλάτος πεποιημένος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπίκειται ἄρτος ἕτερος . . . καὶ κρέας θειον καὶ λεκάριον πισάνης ἢ λαχάνου. *σιταμνάριον*: στάμνος 'wine-jar.' Ephipp. frg. 3. 340 (3), Σταμνάρια τ' οἶνου μικρὰ τοῦ φοινικίνου. Eupol. ap. Poll. 10. 73. H. *πελιάριον*: πέλις 'light shield.' Callix. ap. Athen. 200 F, see A sub παιδισκάριον. I. *οἰκάριον*: οἶκος 'chamber.' Lys. ap. Poll. 10. 39, τὸ οἰκάριον τὸ ὀπισθε τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος. *πλοιάριον*: πλοῖον 'boat,' 'vessel.' Ar. Ran. 139, 'Ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τυννουτοῖ σ' ἀνὴρ γέρον Νεύτης διαῖξει, δὴ ὁβελῶ μισθὸν λαβών. Xen. Hell. 4. 5. 17. J. *βωλάριον*: βῶλος 'clod,' cf. βῶλιον. Strabo 777, βωλαρίων χρυσοῦ, . . . μέγεθος δ' ἐχόντων ἐλάχιστον μὲν πυρῆνος, μέσον δὲ μεσπίλου, μέγιστον δὲ καρύου. *δελιάριον*: δέλτος 'writing-tablet.' Plut. Anton. 58, Δελτάρια τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ὀνύχια καὶ κρυπτάλλια. *λιθάριον*: λίθος, 'a little stone,' i. e. 'jewel.' CIA. 2. 835 c-1 67 (320-317 B. C.) λιθάριον στρογγύλον διάλευκον τριῶν δακτύλων τὸ μέγεθος. Insc. Delos Mich. 833. 117 (279 B. C.), δακτύλιοι δύο, ὁ εἰς λιθάριον ἔχον καὶ ἐνὶ(α)· ὀλκὴν· ΓΤΤΤ. K. *ξύλριον*: ξύλον, 'a little piece of wood.' Diosc. 1. 89, τὰ δὲ ξυλάρια χλωρὰ ἀντὶ καλαμίδων παρατριβόμενα τοῖς ὁδοῦσι. *ξύλριον* (§ 364) = ξυλάριον. Hes., ῥόμβος . . . ξυλῆριον, οὗ ἐξήπεται σχοινίον, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελευταῖς δινεῖται. *οἰνάριον*: οἶνος, 'a little wine.' Diph. frg. 4. 403, ἐμβαλεῖς . . . Οἰνάριον εἰς λάγυνον, ἀλλ' οὐ κάρβον, 'but into the stomach all things go.' Anth. P. 11. 189, Εἰς βραχὺ σιταρίου κέρμα καὶ οἰναρίου. *σιτάριον*: σῖτος. a) 'a little food.' Ant. P. 11. 189, see sub οἰνάριον. b) 'a little loaf of bread.' Phil. frg. 4. 38 (12. 3), σιτάρια μικρὰ προσφέρων. Polyb. 26. 24. 5, ποτὲ μὲν ἐσιτᾷτο κρέα, ποτὲ δὲ σῖκα, ποτὲ δὲ σιτάρια βραχέα παντελῶς. L. *μυθάριον*: μῦθος, 'a short tale.' Plut. 2. 14 E, τὰ Αἰσώπεια μυθάρια. *μισθάριον*: μισθός, 'a little or scanty pay.' Ar. Vesp. 300, 'Ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦδε με τοῦ μισθαρίου Τρίτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἄλψιτα δεῖ καὶ ξύλα κῶφον· Σὺ δὲ σῖκα μ' αἰτεῖς. Diph. frg. 4. 395 (2. 34), Τὸ μισθάριον γὰρ ἂν ἀπαιτῇς, ἀμίδα μοι ἔνεγκε πρῶτον, φησίν. *ψυχάριον*: ψυχή, 'a little soul' (cf. § 203). Plato Theaet. 195 A, ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπ' ἀλλήλων συμπεπτωκότα ἦ ὑπὸ στενοχωρίας, ἐὰν τοῦ σμικρὸν ἦ τὸ ψυχάριον, ἔτι ἀσαφέστερα ἐκείνων.

2. Referring to a class. A) *παιδάριον*: παῖς 'child.' Ar. Vesp.

568, τὰ παιδάρια εὐθὺς ἀνέλκει, Τὰς θηλείας καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς, τῆς χειρὸς, ἐγὼ δ' ἀκροῶμαι. id. Av. 607, ἡ παιδάρια ὄντ' ἀποδνήσκειν δεῖ; Plato Gorg. 485 B, ὅταν δὲ σαφῶς διαλεγόμενου παιδαρίου ἀκούσω, πικρὸν τί μοι δοκεῖ χρῆμα εἶναι, contrasted with ἀνδρὸς ψελλίζοντος. J) *ληδάριον*: λῆθος. 'Light summer garment.' Ar. Av. 715, χρὴ χλαῖναν πωλεῖν ἤδη καὶ ληδάριον τι πρίασθαι. Probably *μυαδάριον*: μνᾶ 'mina.' Diph. frg. 4. 385 (2). *πλακουντάριον*: πλακοῦς 'a flat cake,' cf. πλακούντιον. Strabo 812, κομίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου πλακουντάριον τι καὶ κρέας ὁπτὸν καὶ προχοιδίον τι μελικράτου. Epict. 3. 12. 11, combined with contempt: καὶ κορασιδίου ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πλακουνταρίου.

3. Among peculiar modifications of the diminutive meaning in -αριον may be mentioned in the first place the use of *σκευάριον* 'little utensil' to make its theft appear small (cf. § 315. XI. 3 F). So in Ar. Plut. 1139, Καὶ μὴν ὅποτε τι σκευάριον τοῦ δεσπότου Ὑφέλοι, ἐγὼ (sc. ὁ Ἑρμῆς) σ' ἂν λανθάνειν ἐποίουν αἰεί.

The use of diminutives in the meaning 'merely,' 'nothing but,' etc. (§ 216) is represented by ἐν *ὀνάριον* 'only one ass' in Diph. frg. 4. 417 (4), 'Ἐν ὀνάριον ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι καταβαίνει Καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνικυτὸν ἀγαπητῶς Ὅσπερ ἱκανοῦν μοι πάντ' ἀνεσκευασμένον, Σπονδὴν, ὀλᾶς, ἔλαιον, ἰσχάδας, μέλι. Similarly *τρία πλοιάρια* 'only three vessels' in Men. frg. 4. 88 (1. 9), Οὗ τῶν τριάκοντ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τρία Πλοιάρια· γήμας δ' οὐδὲ εἷς σέσωσθ' ὀλως. *παιδισκάριον* 'a mere girl' in Men. frg. 4. 169, Παιδισκάριον με καταδεδούλωκ' εὐτελές, Ὅν οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν πολέμιων οὐπόποτε.

X. *Hypocoristic words*. A. Articles of diet. *δειπνάριον*: δεῖπνον 'dinner.' Diph. frg. 4. 406 (1), Τὸ δειπνάριον ἀνθηρὸν ἦν, γλαφυρὸν σφῶδρα. *καριδάριον*: καρίς 'shrimp.' Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172, see § 315. XII. A sub θραυττιδίων. *κωθάριον*: κῶθος, substituted for κωβιδάριον in Anaxandr. l. c. by Schweighäuser. *οἰνάριον*: οἶνος 'wine.' Alexis frg. 3. 505 (5), Θασίαις οἰναρίαις καὶ Λεσβίαις Τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ λοιπὸν ὑποβρέχει μέρος Καὶ νωγᾷλίζει. *ὄρνιθάριον*: ὄρνις 'bird.' Nicostr. ap. Athen. 654 B, see § 193 b sub περιστέριον. id. frg. 3. 280, Ὀρνιθάρια τε τῶν ἀγρίων τούτων συχνά (sc. ἀγρόρασον). Χάριεν γάρ. *ὀψάριον*: ὀψον 'fish' etc. Ar. frg. 2. 962 (9), Εἰ μὴ παραμυθεῖ μ' ὀψαρίαις ἐκάστοτε. Anaxil. frg. 3. 352 (3), Σκευάζε, παῖ, τοῦψάριον ἡμῖν. *ποδάριον*: πούς 'foot.' Alexis frg. 3. 429, see § 194 b sub ἡπάτιον. Com. Anon. frg. 4. 608 (27 b), Περιφέρειν ματτύην καὶ ποδάριον, Καὶ γαστρίον τακερόν τι καὶ μήτρας ἴσως. *σηπιδάριον*: σηπία 'cuttle-fish.' Philyll. frg. 2. 861 (1. 1), πολυποδαιον, σηπιδάριον, κάραβον κτλ. *σκινδάριον* (etymology unknown), a kind of fish. Anaxandr. frg. 3. 172, see § 315. XII. A



sub θραυτίδιον. *στρουθάριον*: στρουθός 'sparrow.' Eubul. frg. 3. 268 (14), see § 193 b sub περδίκιον. *συκάριον*: σῦκον 'fig,' doubtful in Eupol. frg. 2. 498, Τὰ συκάρη' ἐποίησε μυττωτὸν πολύν. *χορδάριον*: χορδή 'sausage.' Alexis frg. 3. 442 (1), Χορδαρίου τόμος ἦκε καὶ περι-κομμά τι. *ωάριον*: ὠόν 'egg.' Ephipp. frg. 3. 340 (3), Κάρυα, ῥόας, φρίνικας, ἕτερα νόγαλα, . . . Ὡάρια, τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα πολλὰ παίγνια. *ωτάριον*: οὖς, ὠτός 'ear,' see sub ποδάριον.

B. Human beings. a) Appellatives. *ἀπαράριον*: ἀπαρά. Xenarch. frg. 3. 617, see § 315. XII. Ba sub πατρίδιον. *μητράριον*: μήτηρ, 'matercula.' Gloss. *νητάριον*: νῆττα, 'duckling.' Ar. Plut. 1011, see § 236 c sub βάτιον. *παιδάριον*: παῖς 'child,' 'servant.' Ar. Thesm. 447, Ἔμοι γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀπέθανεν μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ, Παιδάρια πέντε καταλιπών. ib. 1203, σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπότρεχε, παιδάριον. id. Plut. 823, Ἔπου μετ' ἔμοῦ, παιδάριον. Xenarch. frg. 3. 623, Σὺ δὲ μηκέτι ἔγχει, παιδάριον, εἰς τὰργυροῦν, εἰς τὸ βαθὺ δὲ πάλιν ἄγωμεν. εἰς τὸν κἀνθαρον, Παιδάριον, ἔγχει νῆ Δία, νῆ τὸν κἀνθαρον. *παιδιοκάριον*: παιδίσκη 'girl.' Posid. ap. Athen. 211 F, γήμας τε παιδισκάριον εὐμορφον. *φιλοτάριον*: φιλότης 'love,' with hypocoristic doubling of consonant. Ar. Eccl. 891, σὺ δὲ, Φιλοτάριον ἀβλητά, τοὺς ἀβλοῦς λαβών, Ἄξιον ἔμοῦ καὶ σοῦ προσκύλησον μέλος.

b) Proper names. *Κλωνάριον*, Luc. D. Mer. 5. *Μαμμάριον*, CIA. 2. 835 ab 26. *Ναννάριον*, Men. frg. 4. 154 (4), Ναννάριον ἔσχηκας ὠραίαν πάνυ. *Χρυσάριον*, Luc. D. Mer. 1. 2. Cf. § 237 b.

C. In a sense somewhat approaching that of ἀκουσμάτιον (§ 232) is used *φωνάριον*: φωνή, 'delicate or beautiful voice.' So Ar. ap. Poll. 4. 64, φωνάριον ὠδικὸν καὶ καμπτικόν. Humorously in Clearch. frg. 4. 563 (2), Γόγγρων τε λευκῶν πᾶσι τοῖς κολλώδεσι Βρόχθιζε. Τούτοις γὰρ τρέφεται τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ φωνάριον ἡμῶν περισσεύον γίγνεται. For Anth. P. 5. 132 see § 238.

D. Due to the hypocoristic mood of the speaker (cf. § 244 f.), who is pleading with his companion, rather than to endearment for the oxen, is the use of *βοιδάριον* in Ar. Av. 585, Μὴ πρὶν γ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὼ βοιδαρίῳ τὼ ἐμῷ πρώτιστ' ἀπόδωμαι.

E. Faded hypocorisms. Because of the general use of 'diminutives' to designate favorite articles of diet, the originally hypocoristic word *ῥψάριον* came to be equivalent to its primitive ὄψον, and largely took its place, particularly in the meaning 'fish,' since this was the most common of delicacies at Athens. Already in Alexis frg. 3. 464 (2. 2) the hypocoristic force of ὄψάριον must have been very slight, if it existed at all: Θερμοτέροις χαίρεις ἀεὶ τοῖς ὄψαρίοις, ἢ τὸ

μέσον ἢ κατωτέρω; Similarly Men. frg. 4. 125 (2), Επ' ἀρίστῳ λαβὼν Ὀψάριον. In the New Testament ὄψάριον is the regular word for 'fish,' and ὄψον does not occur at all. A similar development must have taken place in two names of birds, viz. ἀτταγηνάριον and χηνάριον, which took the place of their primitives; for the birds designated were used as articles of diet. Cf. AB. 1186, ἀτταγᾶς<sup>1</sup> δέ ἐστι τὸ ἀτταγηνάριον. Suid., χήν, χηνός. τὸ χηνάριον.

Fading of endearment occurred in the occasional use of *παιδάριον* as equivalent to παῖς 'child,' though the loss of original diminutive force must also have contributed to this. Cf. *παιδίον* (§ 220). *δουλάριον* 'slave,' used as equivalent to δούλη already in Ar. Thesm. 537, might as well be a faded deteriorative (cf. ἀνδραπόδιον § 165), were it not that Lucian (Lex. 25) states that it was properly used only for women, which points to hypocoristic origin.<sup>2</sup> *ωτάριον* is equivalent to οὖς 'ear' already in Arist. frg. 228. 1519 a 40, ὁ ῥύπος, φησὶν, ἐν τοῖς ὠταρίοις γιγνόμενος. Like ὠτίον it is specialized so as to refer only to the outer ear, and so was probably not a faded hypocorism, but formed with the idea of appurtenance. Cf. § 249.

XI. The following words in -(δ)αριον are either of obscure derivation or their occurrence without context makes their precise meaning uncertain: *βιβλιδάριον*: βιβλίον, βιβλος 'book,' Ar. ap. Poll. 7. 210. *γραμμάριον*: 'a weight of three obols,' Ducang. App. Gloss. p. 51. *ἱματιδάριον*: ἱμάτιον 'dress,' 'cloak,' Ar. ap. Arist. Rhet. 3. 2. 1405 b 31. *καρνάριον*: κάρυον 'nut,' Gloss. *κερδάριον*: κέρδος 'gain,' Gloss. *ροιδάριον*, Hes. s. v. ἄρουκα. *χρυσιδάριον*: χρυσίον, χρυσός 'gold,' Ar. ap. Arist. l. c.

## XXIX. THE SO-CALLED SUFFIX -αριον.

367. Schwabe, op. cit. 70, brought forth three words to establish a conglutinate -αριον, which he considered to be compounded of a diminutive suffix -αρο- + -ιον, citing Etym. Mag. 160. 32 (Εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ ἄστυ ὑποκοριστικῶς, ἄστυρόν) to establish the former. The authority of the grammarians may very well be neglected in this matter because of their confused notion of what diminutives really are, and their tendency to so classify every word which is equivalent to

<sup>1</sup> The real primitive is, of course, ἀτταγήν.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 678.



its primitive (§ 2). We may consequently dismiss the idea that -υριον was a conglutination of two living diminutive suffixes.

368. Of the three words given by Schwabe as evidence of the existence of -υριον two must be removed because primitives in -υρο- exist alongside of the 'diminutive' in -υριον. From an unknown source he quotes ἀστύριον: ἀστυρόν 'city,' and in Hesychius, if the text is correct,<sup>1</sup> occurs νάκυρον. νακύριον δέρμα (: νάκη). There consequently remains only one word without a collateral form in -υρο-, and that is καλύριον: καλόν, 'a little piece of wood,' in Hesychius: καλύριον· ξυλήριον. The word has been variously emended to καλύδριον or καλύφριον, and, to say the least, it would be very hazardous to rely upon a single occurrence in an author whose text is in as bad a shape as Hesychius to prove the existence of a suffix. Moreover, even if the text is correct, it would be better to assume a lost primitive \*καλυρον than to take one word as proof for the existence of an otherwise unproven conglutinate. The evidence for -υριον is thus of the very weakest kind.

### XXX. THE SUFFIX -ασιον.

369. The conglutinate -ασιον has been treated in a series of articles by Solmsen: Rh. M. 59. 503 f., 60. 636 f., D. Littzt. 1906 col. 1692, Rh. M. 62. 636 ff. In these, besides giving the material, he has shown that it probably had attained a certain local productivity in the Northwest of Greece, and in the third article he connects the -ασ- < -ατ- with the Slavic diminutive -et- in words like ovičet- 'lamb.' It remains to reconsider the problem of the origin of the suffix in connection with its extant meanings and in the light of the analogy of simple -ιον.

370. To begin with, mere mention might be made of the old theory of Buttmann, Ausf. Gr. Spr. 2. 442, that κοράσιον came from \*κοράριον by dissimilation. This is, of course, impossible because of the want of support for such a change; because, as Schwabe (op. cit. 69 f.) has pointed out, there was no objection to forms like ἀνδράριον; and because -ασιον occurs oftener in words without ρ in the preceding syllable.

371. That the -t- of Slavic -et- and Greek -ασιον, as Solmsen assumes, were ultimately identical, is a proposition that can not, of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Albert-Schmidt ad loc.

course, be refuted, and may very well be true; but the real question is whether we are entitled to assume direct semantic connection between the Slavic diminutives in -et- and the Greek ones in -ασιον. Did this meaning really go back to a period when linguistic innovations found no barrier in the difference between the two languages? In answering this question we may waive for the moment the fact that it is in itself exceedingly suspicious that there is no other evidence of an old diminutive -t- suffix either in Greek or any other I. E. language except those of the Balto-Slavic branch (νηπύ-τ-ιος, Ἡδύ-τ-ιον, Εἴρυ-τ-ος, etc., quoted in D. Littzt. l. c., even if 'Koseformen,' would not necessarily have anything to do with real diminutive meaning, cf. § 2 end). An examination of the extant Greek meanings of -ασιον and a comparison with related Greek suffixes will show whether it is really more naturally connected with a distant Slavic suffix.

372. The Greek suffix -σιον I. E. < -t(i)io-<sup>1</sup> occurs in adjectives as completely equivalent to -ιος- from I. E. times. This -σιον-, which is sometimes derived from I. E. -ti- + -io-, e. g. in ἐνιαύσιος: ἐνιαυτός, sometimes from -ti- + -(i)o-, e. g. λύσιος: λύσις, διστάσιος: στάσις, occurs in verbal as well as denominative adjectives after every sort of vowel. Cf. e. g. ἀφροδί-σιος, δημό-σιος, ἐπὶ-σιος, θεσπέ-σιος, ἱεστή-σιος, ἐπιναύ-σιος. After α the same -σιον- occurs in ἀσπásiος, ἐλάσιος, θαυμάσιος, διπλάσιος, τριτάσιος, etc. From these adjectives in -σιον- substantivized neuters are found with the same meanings as in -ιον (cf. § 19). Thus -σιον forms verbal abstracts like συμπόσιον or κυνηγέσιον, τὸ δημόσιον in an adjectival abstract, τὰ πρυμνήσια 'stern-cables': πρύμνη 'stern' shows the meaning 'belonging to,' as does also Ἀρτεμίσιον 'temple of Artemis,' συβόσιον 'herd of swine': συβότης 'swine-herd.' In Ἀρτεμίσιον 'image of Artemis' -σιον denotes likeness.

373. Since, then, there is no doubt that substantives in -σιον, -οσιον, etc. are exactly like those in -ιον, and since -ασιον- is found in adjectives just like -σιον-, we would a priori expect substantives in which -σιον is preceded by an α which are also exactly like -ιον substantives, and thus there can be no doubt of the history of the abstract γυμνάσιον (: γυμνάζω). It would follow that when we find substantives in -ασιον with more developed meanings, we should be very circumspect about divorcing them from others like γυμνάσιον, which end in the same

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>a</sup>. 186.



suffix, and from words of related meaning like Ἀρτεμίσιον 'image of Artemis,' in order to find a far-off Slavic cognate which otherwise has no support as an I. E. phenomenon. Unless striking proof to the contrary is brought forth, we must assume that words in -σιον are exactly like other words in -ιον, that the -t- which in Indo-European times added nothing to the meaning of a word added no more in Greek -σιον than in -ησιον, -ισιον, -οσιον, etc. Only on the assumption that the diminutive meaning has nothing to do with the adjectival use can Solmsen's separation of words like κοράσιον from other -σιο- forms, from adjectives in -σιος, and even from other substantives in -σιον be justified, and this assumption is untenable in view of the fact that the 'diminutive' uses of -ιον developed from its adjectival uses in purely Greek times (cf. § 261 ff.).

374. An examination of the examples of the suffix -σιον reveals the fact that the diminutive use is comparatively rare even among the words given by Solmsen. Four of them are geographical names, a category which, though it may contain a late diminutive here and there, is certainly not diminutive in origin (cf. § 6) as far as simple -ιον is concerned, and why then should similar words in -σιον be diminutives? Of these Πτελέσιον (Strabo 350) is so impossibly a diminutive that Solmsen himself suggests the possibility of adjectival origin, comparing πεδιάσιος. 'A little elm' (πτελέα) would certainly be a ridiculous designation for a δρυμῶδες χωρίον ἀόκητον; it must be 'that which is provided with elms.' Similarly Πρυμνάσιον (Schol. γ' 404) can not have been 'a little prow' or 'a little foot of a mountain,' but 'that which is situated at the foot of the mountain.' Κορυφάσιον (Thuc. 4. 3. 2): κορυφή is in all probability not 'the summit of a hill,' but 'that which is situated on the summit,' as can be seen by the designation of Athena as Κορυφασία as connected with a certain hill upon which a temple was dedicated to her (Pausan. 4. 36). And finally, Πολιάσιον (Polyb. 16. 16. 2): πόλις may be a diminutive, but there is no evidence that it was one, and more probably it shows that -σιον had become a suffix for geographical names without regard to the relation between the primitive and derivative.

375. In a similar way most of the appellatives in -σιον originated. Just as words designating articles of dress had largely come to end in -ιον through the original meaning 'belonging to the category of' (§ 130), so φαικάσιον was 'a shoe of the φαικός kind,' and then became equivalent to its primitive. Cf. App. Bell. Civ. 5. 11, ὑπόδημα ἦν ἀντὶ λευκὸν Ἀττικόν, ... καὶ καλοῦσι φαικάσιον. The

primitive φαικός here shows where the α comes from, and it is not necessary to resort to Slavic -et-. With φαικάσιον is to be compared καπ(π)άσιον (Nicetas in Manuèle lib. 4 num. 2) 'felt cap,' also without diminutive idea. In the same way -ιον had come to form many words designating cups (§ 129), and this use would be paralleled by λαιβάσιον (Athen. 486 A), if, as Solmsen (Rh. M. 62. 638) thinks, it came from a primitive \*λαιβος or \*λαιβων with the same meaning. Since these do not exist, however, it is better to refer λαιβάσιον to an extant λαιβή as 'that which is used for libation,' and the -σιον is thus a suffix of appurtenance. Less certain is σπαράσιον· ὄρνεον ἐμπερὲς στρουθῶ, Hes. Hoffmann, BB. 21. 140, connects it with Goth. sparwa O. H. G. sparo 'sparrow,' and it thus probably was conceived as a bird 'like a sparrow, but not a real one' (§ 132 ff.), though it is barely possible that it was a diminutive referring to a class. Hopelessly obscure is φεσκάσιον· μαγγάνιον πλοῖκόν, Phot. If μαγγάνιον is a 'machine,' however, it would seem that -σιον had, like -ιον (§ 71 ff.), become a sort of instrumental suffix.

376. There remain three words which show that -σιον was occasionally a diminutive-hypocoristic suffix. Of these two are proper names, viz., Adelphasium (Plaut. Poen. 154, 203, 757, 894) and Philocomasium (Plaut. Mil. 417), which show that -σιον has taken part in the function of -ιον of forming permanent names of women (§ 237 b). The only probable appellative 'diminutive' is κοράσιον: κόρη 'maiden.' Some support for taking this as a 'little maiden' is gained from the inscriptions from Delphi, in which a κοράσιον liberated from slavery was not on the average rated as high as a full-grown slave. While the latter were usually worth from three to ten minas, sometimes more, but rarely less, a κοράσιον is rated at 30 staters in CB. 1705. 4; 2 minas, 1708. 6; 1 m., 1714. 4; 2 m., 1751. 2; 1 m., 2144. 8; 3 m., 2151. 5; 6 m., 2204. 5; 40 staters, 2213. 6; 10 st., 2219. 14; 3 m., 2249. 7; 15 st., 2254. 4; 4 m., 2259. 5; 3 m., 2267. 5; 2 m., 2269. 9; 3 m., 2300. 5; 2 m., 2316. 6; 3 m., 2324. 6. Much can not be made out of the individual case, however, because of other features which help to determine the value. Thus while the highest valuation for a κοράσιον was six minas, a full-grown slave was repeatedly rated as low as two minas. At Phocis (CB. 1555 c 7) a ten year old κοράσιον is worth even ten minas in contrast to five minas for a man ib. b 8. It must also be borne in mind that the primitive κόρη, like the English "girl," could indeed refer to a full-grown person at times, but would oftener



not do so, and consequently the apparent diminutive force of the suffix of *κοράσιον* comes mainly from the root. There is, however, just one passage which shows that *κοράσιον* was sometimes used hypocoristically, namely Ps. Plato Epigr. 31, 'Α Κύπρις Μούσαισι· "κοράσια,<sup>1</sup> τὰν Ἀφροδίταν Τιμᾶτ', ἢ τὸν Ἑρωτ' ὕμνων ἐφοπλίσσομαι". The humorous mixture of mock tenderness and contempt is entirely due to the irony of the situation (cf. § 152), while the force of the suffix itself is hypocoristic.

377. As to the origin of the 'diminutive' use of *-ασιον*, it seems quite certain, in view of the more frequent words with non-diminutive meaning, that it is altogether due to semantic syncretism with *-ιον*. The two suffixes were parallel in so many uses that it was possible in some dialects to extend the equivalence to the 'diminutive' functions, while others did not go so far. Probably *κοράσιον* was the pattern type for the hypocoristic use, and the proper names followed. It was originally a substantivation from an adjective meaning 'belonging to the category of maiden,' and became equivalent to *κόρη*, without implication of small size or endearment. Remnants of the feeling for the relation of this word to the adjectival *-ιον* are seen in collocations like *σῶμα κοράσιον* (Insc. Phocis C.B. 1555c 5), which is exactly parallel to the frequent *σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον* or *σῶμα γυναικεῖον* (cf. *κορεῖδιον*, § 315. VIII. C, *παιδάριον* § 360). Into this *κοράσιον* = *κόρη* diminutive or hypocoristic meaning was secondarily infused through the influence of congeneric words in simple *-ιον*, e. g. *κόριον* 'little maiden.'

### XXXI. SUFFIXES IN *-φιον* (*-αφιον*, *-ηφιον*, *-ιφιον*, *-υφιον*).

378. The suffix *-αφιον* must have taken its origin from primitives in *-αφο-*, most probably from names of animals in *-αφος*, in which the latter was quite productive.<sup>2</sup> From these there is extant only one 'diminutive' in *-ιον*, namely *ἐλάφιον* 'little deer': *ἐλαφος*, used as a term of endearment in addressing a dancing-girl in Ar. Thesm. 1172, and so sometimes, though I believe wrongly (cf. § 236 c, note to *ὠλάφιον*), taken as a proper name. It occurs again, and indispu-

<sup>1</sup> The long *ā* of *κοράσιον* is the result of metrical lengthening according to Bechtel, Att. Frauennam. 67 n. 1; Solmsen, Rh. M. 59, 503.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, 197.

tably as an appellative, in Geopon. 2. 18. 5, *ἐλαφίου κέρας* ... *ῥάνναντες*. This word, from the primitive *ἐλαφος*, which is the most common of words in *-αφος*, was, then, probably the pattern type of the diminutives in *-αφιον*. From it the suffix could spread directly to other names of animals by congeneric attraction, e. g. to *θηρ-άφιον* 'little animal.' After the relation e. g. of *θήρ* to *θηράφιον* had caused *-αφιον* to appear as a single suffix, it could spread to words of any kind: *ἀργυράφιον*, *ἐδάφιον*, *μνημάφιον*, *μοιράφιον*, *μυράφιον*, *ξύλαφιον*, *υῖάφιον*, *χρυσάφιον*, *χωράφιον*.

379. For the frequent diminutive use of *-αφιον* no other extant pattern type can come in question, but in other meanings there is at least one word which had a limited influence. Thus *θεάφιον* 'sulphur' = *θέαφος* (§ 260 F), and this, as a word designating a powder-like substance, probably caused *ξηράφιον* 'a desiccative powder for wounds': *ξηρός* 'dry' (cf. *ξήριον* § 260 F). *σκιράφιον*, a msc. variant for *σκιραφεῖον*<sup>1</sup> 'gambling-house': *σκιράφος* 'dice-box,' is not a possible pattern, because *-αφιον* is never a suffix of appurtenance.

380. In the one word *ξύλαφιον*<sup>2</sup> 'a little piece of wood' (: *ξύλον*) *-ηφιον* seems to occur instead of *-αφιον*. This form is guaranteed by the length of the vowel in Alexis frg. 3. 423 (1. 24), and its early age both by the same passage and by Hipp. 682 f. It may be explained by assuming that the *α* of *-αφιον* was lengthened somewhere because connected in the mind with the first declension in words like *χωράφιον*: *χώρα*, and that *-ηφιον* resulted analogically from some other word in *-η*, either the by-form *ξύλη*, or, if the late appearance of this word is not accidental, some other word which attracted *ξύληφιον*. There was involved the abstraction of a suffix *-φιον* instead of *-αφιον*.

381. There also occurs a suffix *-ιφιον* in a few isolated instances: *ὀρνίφιον* 'a young bird': *ὀρνις* is found in Ael. An. Nat. 4. 41, and *ξύλιφιον* is a variant msc. reading for *ξύληφιον* in diverse passages. While the custom is to change *ξύλιφιον* everywhere to *ξύληφιον*, and *ὀρνίφιον* to *ὀρνύφιον*, it would seem that the very fact that the forms in *-ιφιον* were intermingled by the scribes is testimony to their existence somewhere. To assume that the identical pronunciation of *η*

<sup>1</sup> That the form in *-ιον* is not necessarily a corruption of *-ειον* can be seen from words like *πισύγγιον*: *πίσυγγος* (§ 63).

<sup>2</sup> For Lobeck's opinion that *ξύλίφιον* should be substituted for *ξύληφιον* wherever it occurs cf. § 384.



and *ι* in later times caused the confusion does not take account of the fact that it occurs particularly in certain words, but not everywhere alike.

382. As to the explanation of *ὀρνίφιον*, it is impossible to assume with Janson (op. cit. 85) that it is syncopated from *\*ὀρνιθύφιον*; for there is no evidence of any syncope of that kind in the Greek language. The real cause of formation lies close at hand. Just as *ἐλαφος* forms a diminutive *ἐλάφιον*, so *ἐριφος* 'kid' forms *ἐρίφιον*, and after this was patterned the congeneric *ὀρνίφιον*, a formation which allowed the word to retain the stem-vowel of its primitive. The influence of this word in turn may have caused *ξύλιφιον* as a by-form to *ξύληφιον*, particularly since a feeling of uncertainty as to the vowel preceding the *φ* must have already arisen in the latter through the variation of forms in *-αφιον* and *-ηφιον*.

383. The suffix *-υφιον*, occurring in *δενδρύφιον*, *ζωύφιον*, *κερδύφιον*, *κωλύφιον*, *σκευύφιον*, and *ὠύφιον*, may have originated in two different ways without the extant words allowing a decision. On the one hand, *-υφιον* may have been directly transferred from some *-ιον* derivative from a primitive in *-υφρ-* *-υφᾶ-* or *-υφρσ-*, e. g. *\*κορύφιον* from *κορυφή*. There is, however, extant not a single word in *-υφιον* from such a primitive, unless the suffix had a long *υ*, in which case there exists *κελύφιον*: *τὸ κέλυφος*, though not in 'diminutive' meaning (§ 118 C). If the *υ* of *-υφιον* was short, we may assume a lost pattern like *\*κορύφιον*, certainly not an improbable conjecture. Another explanation is given by Brugmann, Gr. 2. 1<sup>2</sup>. 387, who assumes *δενδρύφιον* or some word like it as the pattern. This would presuppose the existence of a stem-form *δενδρυ-* in 'Ablaut' with *δένδρε[F]-ον*, or = *δένδρ[F]-ον* minus the thematic vowel, for which Brugmann compares Hes., *δενδρυάζειν*· *ταπεινῶς ὑπὸ τὰς δρυὲς παραφεύγειν*. In this case a suffix *-φιον* had been abstracted from some word like *ὀρνίφιον*: *ὀρνι-ς* (stem *ὀρνιθ-*), and this *-φιον* in turn coalesced with the *υ* of the *-υ-* stem.

384. There seems to be no difference of meaning between the various *-φιον* suffixes, but there was a distinction in so far as *-υφιον* was avoided after stems containing an *υ* for euphonic reasons. Cf. Schwabe, op. cit. 68, who refutes the untenable statement of Theognostus 126. There is thus weak support for the *ξύλυφιον* which Lobeck (ad Phryn. 78) would substitute everywhere for *ξύληφιον*. While it is not impossible that *ξύλυφιον*, which is actually found e. g. in Suidas, actually existed in the speech of some individuals who were less sensible to euphony, it is not allowable to attribute the form to the whole community.

385. As far as the few examples with sufficient context can determine, words in the *-φιον* suffixes were almost, though not quite, exclusively a diminutive category, i. e. referring to small size, as can be seen from the following examples: *δενδρίφιον*: *δένδρον*, 'a little tree or tree-like plant.' Theophr. H. P. 4. 7. 3, *μήκη δὲ τῶν δενδρυφίων ὅσον εἰς τρεῖς πήχεις*. *ζωύφιον*: *ζῷον*, 'a little animal or figure.' Athen. 210 C, *τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ* (sc. *τῷ ὑποκρητηριδίῳ*) *ἐντετορευμένα ζῳδάκια καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ζωύφια καὶ φυτάκια*. Hes., *ζωύφιοις*· *μικροῖς ζώοις ἢ κνωδάλοισι. ἢ πτηνοῖς. ἢ σφηξίν*. *θηράφιον*: *θήρ*, 'a little beast.' Damocrates ap. Gal. vol. 14 p. 91 ed. Kühn, *Καὶ τῶν τε λεπτῶν λεγομένων θηραφίων, Σφηκῶν, μελιττῶν*. *καλύφιον*: *κἄλον*, 'a little piece of wood.' A conjecture for *καλύριον* (§ 368) in Hes., *καλύφιον*· *ξύληφιον*. *μνημάφιον*: *μνήμα*, 'a little monument.' Insc. Rom. CIG. 6707 (224 A. D.), *τόπον ὃν παρεκάλεσ[ας] ἐν τοῖς κήποις μου, ἵνα οἰκοδομήσῃς μνημάφιον ἐκεῖ, . . . δῆλόν σοι ποιῶ*. *μυράφιον*: *μύρον*, 'a little ointment,' referring to quantity (§ 202), combined with deteriorative force. Epict. 4. 9. 7, *καλὸς εἶναι θέλεις καὶ πλάσσεις σεαυτὸν μὴ ὦν καὶ ἐσθλῆτα ἐπιδεικνύειν θέλεις στυλπνὴν, ἵνα τὰς γυναικάς ἐπιστρέφῃς, καὶ που μυραφίῳ ἐπιτύχῃς, μακάριος εἶναι δοκεῖς*. *ξύλάφιον*: *ξύλον*, 'a little piece of wood.' Philem. Lex. Techn. 116, *Ξυλάφιον ὑπ. τὸ μικρὸν ξυλάριον καὶ ξυλήφιον*. *ξύληφιον* = preceding. Alexis frg. 3. 423 (1. 24), *ξύληφιον Μυρρίνης ἔχουσα λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν*. Hipp. 683, *ἐμπηξὼν ξυλήφια ὀριγάνου δύο ποιήσας λεία. ἔστω δὲ ἐξ δάκτυλα*. Polyb. 6. 35. 7, *ὁ δὲ δίδωσι τοῦτοις πᾶσι ξυλήφια κατὰ φυλακὴν, βραχέα τελέως, ἔχοντα χαρακτῆρα*. *ξύλιφιον* = preceding. Hes., *φρύγετρον*· *ξύλιφιον*, *ὃ κινεῖται τὰς πεφυργμένας κριθάς*. *ὀρνίφιον* (*ὀρνύφιον*): *ὀρνις*, 'a young bird.' Ael. An. Nat. 4. 41, *καὶ ἔστι τὸ μέγεθος τὰ ὀρνίφια ὅσον περ ὦν πέρδικος*. ib. 7. 47, *τὰ δὲ πρόσφατα ὀρνίφια ὀρταλίχους* (sc. *καλοῦσιν*). *σκευύφιον*: *σκεῦος*, 'vasculum.' Jo. Laur. De Magistr. Rom. p. 104 (with deteriorative shade), *σκεῦος μέγιστον, ἐξ ἀργυρίου πεποιημένον, . . . ἐκ προγόνων ἔχει κεκτημένος· εἴτα πρὸς πενίαν ὑποσυρόμενος καταλύει μὲν τὸ σκεῦος, . . . πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἐξ αὐτοῦ σκευύφια κατασκευάζων, πολὺν ἀργυρον ἐξ εὐτελείας, ἢ μέγιστον ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἔχειν φαντάζεται*. *χρυσάφιον*: *χρυσός*, 'a small quantity of gold.' Anna Comn. 3 p. 94, *ἀστροπέλεκυν δεδεμένον μετὰ χρυσαφίου*. *χωράφιον*: *χώρα*, 'a little spot.' Theophr. frg. 171. 7, *γίνονται μὲν* (sc. *οἱ ὀρυκτοὶ τῶν ἰχθύων*) *καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰ ἔνυδρα χωράφια*.

386. Other uses than the prevailing diminutive use are exceedingly rare. *ξηράφιον* (Aet. 6. 92; Paul. Aeg. 7. 13), 'a desiccative



powder for wounds,' which followed *θεάφιον*: *θέαφος*, has been mentioned above (§ 379). As an instrument suffix -αφιον appears in one word, viz. *ξυράφιον* 'razor' = *ξυρόν*. Cf. Schol. Ar. Ach. 849, *μῆ δὲ μαχαίρα εἶπεν ὁ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ξυράφιον*. Gl. Lex. Gr. ms. Reg. cod. 2062, *Ξυρὸς τὸ ξυράφιον ἢ τὸ ἡκονημένον ξίφος*. This word is probably due to the fact that *ξύλαφιον*, which is so much like *ξύληφιον*, could designate a small wooden instrument, whence *ξυράφιον* by congeneric attraction. Of semantic syncretism with other -ιον suffixes there is very slight evidence. Deteriorative meaning is only found in combination with the diminutive (cf. *μυράφιον* and *σκευῦφιον* § 385). There is one passage, however, in which *δενδρύφιον* is used hypocoristically as 'beautiful tree,' namely Marc. Ant. 4. 20, for which see § 354. Perhaps *κωλύφιον*: *κωλή*, 'ham,' also belongs here, in as much as it may have meant 'delicious ham.' Cf. Phryn. 77, *κωλύφιον μὴ λέγε, κωλήνα δέ*.

387. The precise meaning of the following words in -φιον can not be determined because of lack of proper context: *ἀργυράφιον*: *ἄργυρος* 'silver,' Theogn. Can. 126. 34. *ἐδάφιον*: *ἔδος* 'seat,' Eustath. 492. 36. *κερδύφιον*: *κέρδος* 'gain,' Gloss. *μοιράφιον*: *μοῖρα* 'fate,' 'lot,' Theogn. l. c. *υἰάφιον*: *υἱός* 'son,' Gloss., Hipp. De Aere p. 179. *ὠνύφιον*: *ὠόν* 'egg,' Theogn. Can. 127. 2.

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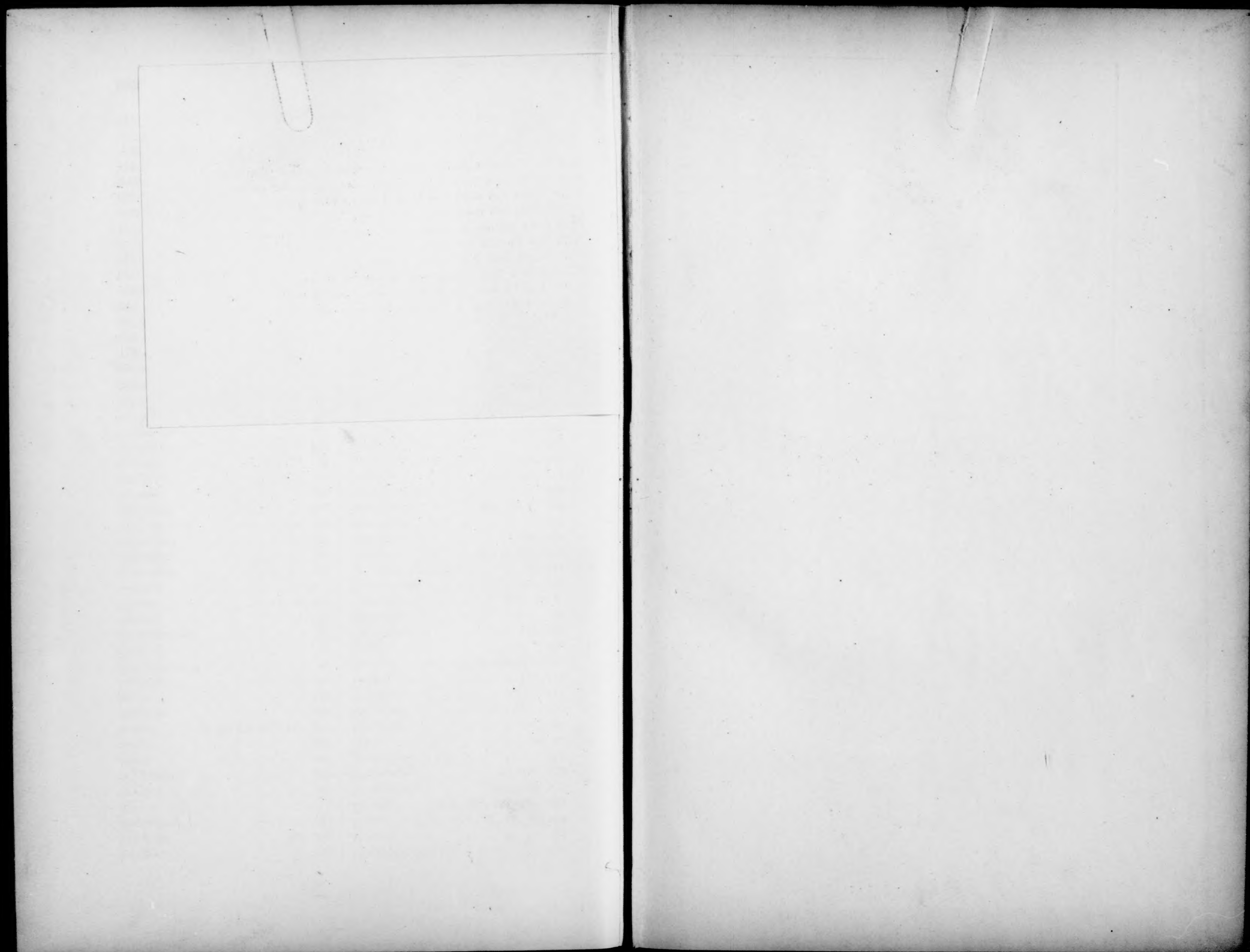
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#### ERRATA

- P. 2 line 1 remove *ἀσάιον*, which is probably a real 'diminutive.'  
P. 9 line 25 read *ξύγγιον* for *ξύγγιον*, and *στηθίων* for *στήθιον*.  
P. 19 note 1 and p. 20 line 13 read *βραγγία* for *βραγγία*.  
Ib. line 15 read *βράγγι* for *βραγγί*.  
P. 45 line 4 remove *σκηράνιον*, which comes from a primitive *σκηράνη*.  
P. 72 line 15 read *ἵππιον* for *ἵππιος*.  
P. 73 line 4 read *Τείχιον* for *Τειχίον*.  
P. 157 line 4 from below read *κλάδιον* for *κλαδίον*.  
P. 205 line 10 from below read 'stone' for 'jewel.'  
P. 234 line 7 f. read *ἀνδριαντίδιον* for *ἀνδριάντιον*.







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